

L I V E S

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS

BRITISH SEAMEN.

VIZ.

HOWARD, Earl of Nottingham

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE

Sir ROBERT DUDLEY

Sir RICHARD HAWKINS

Admiral BLAKE

Sir GEORGE AYSCUE

Sir THOMAS CAVENDISH

Capt. WILLIAM DAMPIER

General GEORGE MONK

Admiral MONTAGUE

Sir EDWARD SPRAGGE

Admiral RUSSEL

Sir JOHN BERRY

Admiral BENBOW

Sir RALPH DELAVAL

Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL

Sir GEORGE ROOKE

Sir JOHN LEAKE

Sir GEORGE BYNG Viscount Teign頓

EDINBURGH:

Printed in the Year M DCC LXIV.

J I V E S

L U S T R I O U S

B R I T I S H S E A M E N



Sir Edward Spragge
Sir John Russel
Sir John Berry
Admiral Endymion
Sir Ralph Delaval
Sir Gouardier Shovell
Sir George Rose
Sir John Tyrrell
Sir George Hinde Algoone Top
Hector

Howard Egerton
Sir Francis Drake
Sir Robert Dudley
Sir Richard Hawkins
Sir Francis Drake
Sir George Astur
Sir Thomas Carew
Sir William Dampier
General George Monk
Admiral Montague

E D I N U R G H :

PRIESE in the Year M DCC LIXIA.

THE
L I V E S
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS
BRITISH SEAMEN.

CHARLES HOWARD,
Earl of Nottingham, Lord High-admiral of England.

CHARLES HOWARD, of the most noble house of Norfolk, was an able statesman, an experienced seaman, and most loyal courtier; which raised him successively, from his hereditary honour of baron of Effingham, to those of lord-chamberlain of the household, knight of the garter, lord high-admiral of England, earl of Nottingham, and lord chief-justice in Eyre of all the forests, &c. south of Trent. He was born in the year 1536, in the latter end of the reign of king Henry VIII. his father having then the title only of Lord William Howard. His mother's name was Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage of Glamorganshire. Lord William being, by letters-patent, dated March 11, 1553, in the first year of the reign of queen Mary, raised to the title of baron of Effingham, and, on the 20th of the same month, declared also Lord High-admiral, his son served under him in several expeditions, till the accession of queen Elizabeth, when he was about twenty two years of age. His father coming into great favour with that princess, he enjoyed a considerable share of it, and in 1559 was sent over into France, to compliment Charles IX. who had just ascended that throne. Nine years afterwards he was appointed general of the horse, in the expedition made by the earl of Warwick against the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, who had taken arms in the North; and in crushing which rebellion he was very active.

In the following year he commanded a squadron of men of war, which the Queen was pleased to direct to escort Anne of Austria, daughter to the emperor Maximilian, to the coast of Spain. Upon this occasion the Spanish fleet were obliged to take in their flags, while they continued in the British seas. In 1571, he was chosen to represent the freeholders in parliament, as knight of the shire for the county of Surry; and very soon after succeeded his father in his title and estate, who died January 12, 1573, in the great office of lord privy seal, and very highly in the Queen's favour. Her Majesty, with good reason, distinguished the son, as she had done the father, by advancing him to the greatest offices in the kingdom, not hastily, but, as her manner was, by a due progression. He became first chamberlain of the household, an office which his father had also enjoyed; and, on the 24th of April 1573, he was elected knight of the garter. Some of the writers of those times say that he was raised to check Leicester's greatness; which is thus far probable, that they were certainly the most opposite people in the world in their tempers. For whereas Leicester was, at least if the best authors of those times deserve credit, a deep dissembler, excessively ambitious, and one who sought to govern all things, the lord-chamberlain, on the other hand, was an open, generous, public-spirited man, in the good graces of the Queen from his known affection to her person, and exceedingly popular, as well on account of his hospitality, affability, and other good qualities, as for the sake of his most loyal and heroic family. When, therefore, the earl of Lincoln died in 1585, the Queen immediately determined to raise the lord Effingham to the post of High-admiral, which she did with the general approbation of her subjects, and much to the satisfaction of the seamen, by whom he was so deservedly beloved.

After the Spaniards had spent three years in preparing their *armada*, and sent it, in their own opinion, to the assured conquest of the kingdom of England, the Queen willingly entrusted the care of herself and the nation to this noble lord, of whose conduct she had the highest opinion, and of whose fortune she had equal hopes.

As soon as he knew that the Spanish fleet was ready to sail, he put to sea, and continued cruising for some time; till the court having received advice that the Spaniards would be unable to make any attempt that year, and the lateness of the season rendering this intelligence probable, secretary Walsingham wrote to him, directing that four of the largest ships should be sent into port, and the seamen discharged, to save expence. The Admiral wrote back, to excuse his not obeying this direction; and, in the close of the letter, desired, 'That if his reasons were thought insufficient, the ships might remain at his expence.' When he received intelligence from captain Fleming of the approach of the Spanish fleet, and saw of what mighty consequence it was to get out what few ships were ready in the port of Plymouth, he, to encourage others, not only appeared and gave orders in every thing himself, but wrought also with

his own hands, and with no more than six ships got the first night out of Plymouth; and the next morning, having no greater force than 30 sail, and those the smallest of the fleet, attacked the Spanish navy. He shewed his conduct and prudence, by dispatching his brother-in-law Sir Edward Hobby to the Queen, to inform her of the great disproportion between the enemy's force and his own, to desire her to make the proper disposition of her land-forces for the security of the coasts, and to hasten as many ships as possible to his assistance. His valour was conspicuously displayed in the repeated attacks he made on a superior enemy; and the coolness of his temper, a quality, though less shining, yet no less useful, appeared in his passing a whole night in the midst of the Spanish fleet, and retiring, as soon as he had light enough to discover his own, without loss. It was owing to his magnanimity and prudence that the victory was so great; and such as have suggested that it might have been still greater, readily acknowledge that this did not happen through any fault of the Admiral's, who always shewed the utmost alacrity in his country's service. The Queen expressed her sense of his merit in the most honourable terms, and, tho' naturally extremely frugal, bestowed upon him a pension for life, and, at his request, granted a pardon and a pension likewise to captain Fleming the pyrate, who first brought the news of the Spanish fleet's being on our coasts: which shews how careful this great man was that the merits of meaner persons should not pass unrewarded or be overlooked (A).

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(A) It is not intended in this note to enter into a long historical account of that great action, which belongs properly to our histories. It is sufficient to say, that it was the greatest and most important naval victory that this, or perhaps any other nation ever gained; besides, our principal business here, shall be to point out some particular circumstances that especially relate to the personal history of the Lord High-Admiral Howard, which could not be so conveniently inserted in the text. He was always ready to hear whatever could be offered in council, and from thence formed his resolutions; but having once deliberated, he was quick and determined in execution, and not to be driven from his own mature thoughts by the hasty conceptions and bold undertakings of others. On the twentieth of July, the Spanish Armada passed

by Plymouth, when the Admiral, having gained the wind, stood after them, and engaged them very briskly with the ships he had with him. He carried his flag on board the Ark-Royal, which was a vessel of eight hundred tons burden, her complement four hundred men, of which thirty-two were gunners, and continued to chace and fight that mighty fleet 'till the 28th of the same month, when he sent in twelve fire-ships amongst them. He engaged the enemy again the next day with equal courage and success before Graveline; and at length, having forced them, contrary to all probability, and even to his own expectation, to place their safety in a general and ill ordered flight, continued the pursuit till the 4th or August, and then returned to Harwich. In the course of this fight, he resisted the entreaties of the bravest and boldest

In 1596, he commanded in chief at sea, as the earl of Essex did by land, the forces sent against Spain, and was at very great expence out of his own private fortune in providing for that expedition. His prudence and moderation, as well as his great experience and reputation with the seamen and soldiers, were amongst the principal causes of the success

boldest officers in his fleet, who persuaded him to board them. But he considered that they had numbers of regular troops and he none, that their ships were larger, better built, and higher moulded, so that this would have given them great advantages, and have exposed his own people extremely. By this forbearance he kept the advantage of wind and tide, and thereby preserved the superiority which he had gained; and by the same skill and prudence so much improved it, that he sunk, took, and spoiled many, and lost of his own, only one small pinnace.

They might perhaps in this have been pursued farther, and with yet greater advantage; that they were not, proceeded not at all from any fault in the Lord High-Admiral, but his fleet was ill furnished with provision, and his ammunition all spent. This likewise put it out of his power to detach a squadron to the West of Ireland, which would have prevented even the sorry remains of that fleet from getting home. As it was, of one hundred and thirty-four sail, of which the Spanish Armada was composed when the Admiral left Portugal; there returned but fifty-three, and those in a very shattered and deplorable condition. It was universally acknowledged, that the honour gained in so unequal a contest, was entirely due to the vigilance, prudence, and wise resolution of the Admiral, and to his care in keeping the Duke of Parma's forces blocked up by lord Henry Seymour, with his squadron of small ships, on the

coast of Flanders. But, after all, this wonderful victory was chiefly to be attributed to Providence; since, if the English fleet had not been driven into Plymouth by foul weather, the duke de Medina Sidonia had never been tempted by the arguments of Don Diego Flores de Valdes, in breach of his master's orders, to bear away for that port, in hopes of burning and destroying them; which he might likewise have performed, if Thomas Fleming had not brought the Admiral news of their being at sea. If they had prevailed, their design was to have sailed up the river Thames with their lighter ships, and to have attempted London. But if, instead of this, they had followed their king's orders, and proceeded to Calais, which they might have done without the knowledge of the English fleet, and detached from thence a squadron strong enough to have forced the English and Dutch ships from before Dunkirk, the duke of Parma might have joined them, and the expedition been conducted according to his original intention. In this case the whole order of things had been changed, and the Queen must have put her cause entirely upon her army, which, tho' numerous and well provided, commanded by the flower of her nobility and gentry, was composed chiefly of new-raised men, and must have disputed with a superior force of veteran troops, commanded by the greatest Captain of that age, and who was himself suspected of having particular views on, and considerable intelligence in this island.

Lord High-Admiral of ENGLAND.

success the English met with in that great and glorious enterprize ; and his conduct throughout the whole was so prudent and fortunate, that upon his return home, the Queen, on the 2d of October the next year, advanced him to the dignity and title of Earl of Nottingham, the reasons of which are inserted in his patent (B). To this mark of favour, the queen shortly added another, making him Justice Itinerant of all the forests south of Trent for life. But as there cannot be a more slippery situation than in a court, the earl of Essex, at his return from that which was stiled the Island-voyage, though coolly received at first, quickly after gained such an ascendency over the Queen his mistress, as to procure what he had long sought, the post of Earl-Marshal ; which giving precedence of the earl of Nottingham, his lordship resigned his white staff, and for some time remained at Chelsey, rather through chagrin than in disgrace. It was not long before the Queen recalled and restored him to her favour in as high a degree as ever, notwithstanding all the practices of the opposite faction. In demonstration of his loyal gratitude, the next eminent service in which his lordship engaged was in 1599, when the state was in very great danger. On one side, the Spaniards seemed to meditate a new invasion, and some intelligence was received they were on the very point of executing it, having assembled a great fleet at the Groyne, on board of which many English fugitives were directed to repair. On the other hand, the earl of Essex, who was then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, acted in a strange manner, treating with the rebels, more especially the earl of Tyrone, whom he was sent to reduce, and forming some designs of employing the troops, with the command of which he was entrusted by the Queen, to the disturbance of her government. Her Majesty, who always placed her safety in being too quick for her enemies, issued her orders to the city of London, to furnish immediately sixteen ships for the reinforcement of the navy, and six thousand men for her service by land. The like directions being sent into other parts of the kingdom, such a fleet and such an army were drawn together in a fortnight's space, as took away all appearance of success from foreign and domestic enemies ; and to shew the confidence she had in the Admiral's fidelity and capacity, she was pleased to repose in him the sole and supreme command both of fleet and army, with the high title of **LORD LIEUTENANT GENERAL** of all **ENGLAND**, an office unknown to succeeding times, and which he held with almost regal authority for the space of six weeks ; being som mes

(B) The clause referred to is as follows : ‘ That by the victory obtained anno 1585, he had secured the kingdom of England from the invasion of Spain, and other impending dangers ; and did also, in conjunction with our dear cousin Robert earl of

‘ Essex, seize by force the isle and
‘ strongly fortified city of Cadiz, in the
‘ farthest part of Spain ; and did like-
‘ wise entirely rout and defeat another
‘ fleet of the king of Spain, prepared
‘ in that port against this kingdom.’

The life of CHARLES HOWARD;

sometimes with the fleet in the Downs, and sometimes on shore with the forces. In the mean time, the restless and unfortunate earl of Essex having taken a sudden resolution to leave his command in Ireland and return to England, the Queen thought fit to punish this contempt with a short restraint, and afterwards seemed inclined to have received him again into favour: but he, either hurried on by his own rash disposition, or instigated thereto by some desperate persons about him, attempted to raise a force sufficient to compel the Queen to do what he thought expedient; and failing in this, after an irruption from thence, and traversing the city, retired, with such as were about him, to Essex-houle in the Strand, where he fortified himself, and confined the chancellor, the chief justice of England, and other privy-counsellors, sent by the Queen to enquire into the grievances he pretended had compelled and authorised his extraordinary conduct. This was on the 8th of February 1600, when the Queen saw herself in the decline of her life; and, after she had triumphed over foreign foes, in the utmost danger of being imprisoned or deposed. In this perilous situation she had recourse to the loyalty of her people, and to the courage and conduct of her nobility, giving the command of all to the Lord-Admiral, who, she often said, was born to serve and to save his country. He performed, on this occasion, as on all others, the utmost the Queen could expect; for he reduced the earl of Essex to such distress, that he was content to yield himself without terms; and when he had so done, the Lord High-Admiral treated him with all the lenity and kindness possible. The earl of Nottingham was one of the peers summoned to sit in judgment on that unhappy earl, February 19th, 1600, and shewed an earnest desire to come at the truth of that mysterious and melancholy affair. The earl of Southampton, who was condemned at the same time, applied himself particularly to the earl of Nottingham to intercede for him with the Queen; and he did it so effectually, that he was for the present reprieved, and afterwards pardoned. The same year his lordship was appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal of England, and immediately added this post to his title. In the Queen's last sickness he was absent from court for some time, by reason of his consort's indisposition and death; concerning which, whatever secret history may report, we must be strangely credulous to believe it was owing to the Queen's reproaches about the death of Essex (C); more especially

(C) There are always marvellous traditions floating in the minds of men upon remarkable events; and after passing from hand to hand, without ever being brought to public view during the age to which they

belong, start up sometimes in the next, and pass for authentic history. We shall here produce an account of this matter from an eminent writer of our own nation, whose indefatigable researches have thrown great

* Birch's memoirs of the reign of Queen Elisabeth, Vol. II. p. 505.

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especially if we consider he was sent for when she was in extremity, to persuade her to those things which were requisite in her condition, particularly to go into, and remain in bed, which none could do but himself, and in which he succeeded. It was to him she said, when near her end,

" My

lights upon this period of our history. 'I shall add,' says he, 'as the best commentary upon the earl of Monmouth's memoirs, a story which was frequently told by his great-grand-daughter, the late lady Elizabeth Spelman, whose father, John earl of Middleton, married Martha, daughter of Henry earl of Monmouth, eldest son of earl Robert, author of the memoirs. When Katharine, countess of Nottingham, wife of the lord High-Admiral, and sister of the earl of Monmouth was dying, as she did, according to his lordship's own account, about a fortnight before the Queen, she sent to her Majesty to desire that she might see her, in order to reveal something to her Majesty, without the discovery of which she could not die in peace. Upon the Queen's coming, lady Nottingham told her, that while the earl of Essex lay under sentence of death, he was desirous of asking her Majesty's mercy in the manner prescribed by herself during the height of his favour, the Queen having given him a ring, which being sent to her as a token of his distress, might entitle him to her protection. But the earl, jealous of those about him, and not caring to trust any one of them with it; as he was looking out of his window one morning, saw a boy, with whose appearance he was pleased, and engaging him by money and promises, directed him to carry the ring, which he took from his finger, and threw down, to lady Scroope, a sister of the countess of Notting-

ham, and a friend of his lordship, who attended upon the Queen, and to beg of her that she would present it to her Majesty. The boy, by mistake, carried it to lady Nottingham, who shewed it to her husband, the Admiral, an enemy of lord Essex, in order to take his advice. The Admiral forbade her to carry it, or return any answer to the message, but insisted upon her keeping the ring. The countess of Nottingham having made this discovery, begged the Queen's forgiveness; but her Majesty answered, "God may forgive you, but I never can;" and left the room with great emotion. Her mind was so struck with this story, that she never went into bed, nor took any sustenance from that instant; for Camden is of opinion, that her chief reason for suffering the earl to be executed, was his supposed obstinacy in not applying to her for mercy.' This story differs remarkably in one particular from that of Sir Dudley Carleton; for whereas here it is made an accident that the ring fell into the hands of the countess of Nottingham; in that account it is expressly said, 'The earl sent it to her as being his relation.' There are some other circumstances which impeach the credit of this story. In the month of June in the year preceding, her Majesty, in a conversation with the count de Beaumont, ambassador from France, after owning herself to be weary of life, with sighs and tears in her eyes, touched upon the subject of the earl's death, and said, that having been apprehensive, from

The life of CHARLES HOWARD;

" My throne has been held, in the way of succession, by *princes*, and
" ought not to go to any but my next and immediate *heir*." This being
by him reported to the privy-council, they appointed him, in conjunction
with the lord-keeper and the secretary, to desire a more express de-
signation of the successor; and upon this she named the king of Scots,
her nearest kinsman. He farther provided, with all possible prudence,
for the peaceable coming in of the successor, by causing a stout squadron
commanded by Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Monson, to be sta-
tioned in the Downs during the Queen's illness, which awed the arch-
duke and the French; and, on the Admiral's order, king James was pro-
claimed, with all imaginable alacrity, on the 25th of March, the day
after the Queen's death. This service, at that juncture, when, as it
afterwards appeared by lord Cobham's and the powder plot, there want-
ed not some who meditated public confusion, could not but be repre-
sented and received in the most favourable light, by a prince, to whom,
as a Howard, this noble peer was remarkably agreeable; all that family
having been constantly attached to his title, and lord Henry Howard the
principal correspondent ~~his~~ Majesty had in England. Upon the accession
of king James, he not only retained his great office, and was honoured
with a large share of that prince's confidence; but, as a signal mark of
favour, was likewise made choice of to officiate as lord high-steward, at
the ceremony of the coronation. Soon after this, he was named ambas-
sador to the court of Spain, for the conclusion of a strict intercourse of
friendship with that crown, in pursuance of the treaty made at London
the 18th of August 1604; wherein also his lordship was an acting
commissioner. It was very requisite that extraordinary state should be
kept up in this embassy; and therefore the ministry fixed upon the earl
of Nottingham, not as a nobleman of very great fortune, but from his
high birth, established reputation, and from the known generosity of his
temper, and the number of his dependents, who were content, at their
own expence, to accompany him in this voyage. Accordingly he set
out for Spain with a retinue wherein were four lords and twenty six
knights; and, for the support of this great train, he had an appointment
of fifteen thousand pounds, which fell, however, very far short of his ex-
pences.

from the impetuosity of his temper
and his ambition, that he would pre-
cipitate himself into destruction by
some ill design; she had advised him,
above two years before, to content
himself with pleasing her on all occa-
sions, and not to shew such an insol-
ent contempt for her as he did, but
to take care not to touch her sceptre,
lest she should be obliged to punish
him according to the laws of England,

and not according to her own, which
he had found too mild and favourable
for him to fear any suffering from
them: but her advices, however salu-
tary and affectionate, could not pre-
vent his ruin. It is very clear from
hence, that the Queen was melancholy,
and melancholy on the account of
Essex, nine months before her death,
and when it was impossible she should
have heard of this story. It appears
also

pences. He left England in the latter-end of March, having three men of war and four other vessels for himself and his retinue. He landed at Corunna on the 16th of April, and, after making his public entry into Madrid, with all possible marks of deference and respect, had his first audience of his Catholic Majesty on the 18th of May. Sir Charles Cornwallis, who accompanied him, and who was left ambassador in ordinary, reports the earl's conduct to have been such as was highly honourable for himself, his master, and the English nation; and that the Spaniards exceedingly admired and reverenced (according to the honourable disposition of that people) the hero whose courage and conduct had overcome their invincible armada. He took the Spanish king's oath for the due observation of the treaty, and obtained an assurance, that the secret articles consented to by the Constable should be as punctually observed as if inserted in the treaty.

He had his audience of leave, to which he was conducted by the Constable, on the 7th of June, when the King put on his finger a diamond ring of the value of three thousand pounds; and on the 15th he embarked at the port of St Andero for England. During the whole time that he resided at the court of king Philip III. he was treated with the utmost distinction and regard, maintained, to the admiration of the Spaniards, his dignity, and did the highest credit to the nation. At his departure, the king of Spain made him presents which amounted to twenty thousand pounds. He was not so well received at court, on his return, as he had the strongest reason to expect; which was by no means owing to his ill conduct, or to any fault of the king's; himself being injured, and his master abused, by false reports, that the Admiral, while employed in this embassy, had assumed more state, and acted with less precaution than became him. However, he quickly recovered his master's good graces; attended on the lady Elisabeth, when she was married to the Elector Palatine, and afterwards, as Lord-admiral, escorted her with a squadron of the royal navy to Flushing. This was the last service he did his country in that capacity; for being now grown very old and infirm, it was thought expedient by some of his best friends, that he should resign his office to the new favourite, Villiers, at that time earl, and afterwards marquis and duke of Buckingham. Some of the memoir-writers of those days treat this matter in a way highly prejudicial to the King's memory, exceedingly disgraceful to Buckingham, and not

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much

also from the letters of the same minister, that the countess of Nottingham died almost a month before the Queen, and, which is still more extraordinary, the Queen declined giving him audience, on account of her great grief and concern for the death of that lady. But what shocks the credibility of this tale most of all, are those marks of confidence shewn by

the Queen, to the very last, towards the earl of Nottingham himself, who, if it had been true, was infinitely more culpable than his countess. Her words about the succession are very remarkable: she said she desired "no other successor than the king of Scots; and not that her kingdom should fall into the hands of rascals."

much for the reputation of the earl of Nottingham. It appears, however, upon due enquiry, and impartial and serious consideration, that most of these stories are very ill founded; and that, in reality, the earl of Nottingham's laying down his post, after he had enjoyed it with great honour thirty-two years, was not either uneasy to him, or, in the manner of it, capable of fixing any disgrace on his master. The proposition came first from himself, without any knowledge of the marquis, and was very easily agreed to. His estate was not great; and, at the beginning of the King's reign, he had married a young wife, the daughter of the earl of Murray, for whom he was desirous of providing, as well as for her children. The terms, therefore, on which he consented to resign, were these, That a debt of eighteen hundred pounds, due from him to the Crown, should be remitted; that he should have an annual pension of a thousand pounds; and that, as earl of Nottingham, he should take place in the House, according to the descent of his ancestors, and not according to the date of his patent. These terms were quickly adjusted. The marquis went in person to see him, and to return him thanks for resigning, as of his own motive he did, and, by recommending him for his successor, did it in his favour; at the same time, the marquis made the young countess a present of extraordinary value, that is, three thousand pounds, as we have reason to believe. He carried his respect to this venerable old man as far, and preserved it as long, as possible, calling him always father, and bending his knee, whenever he approached him, to the day of his death. The true cause of the earl's inclination to resign his employment was, his being sensible of a decay in his abilities, which becoming prejudicial to the King's interests, might in time have tarnished his former services; and that, upon his resignation, he might be honourably and kindly treated, he was desirous of having the King's favourite for his successor. It may not be amiss to remark upon this, that, to prevent the marquis's youth and inexperience from being as detrimental to the Crown, as the old age and infirmities of the Earl, and to put the navy under a better regulation than ever, it was resolved that the new lord High-admiral should have an experienced Council placed about him, without whose advice he was to do nothing. These, for their names are still preserved, were Messrs Fortescue, Osborn, Gaughton, Sutton, and Pits, on whom, upon this occasion, the King conferred the honour of knighthood; and this regulation had very good effects. All these measures seem to have been concerted before the resignation, which made Buckingham shew so much reverence and affection for the earl of Nottingham, and speak of him always, and upon all occasions, as one to whom he was under the highest obligations. Besides all this, Sir Robert Mansel, who though of a very honourable, and, since, noble family, yet, being a younger brother, had been once the earl of Nottingham's menial servant, but was then Vice-admiral during pleasure, by the favour of the duke had that office confirmed to him for life by patent; which exercise of his influence, in favour of Sir Robert, his old master took so kindly, that, aged and infirm as he was, he made Buckingham a

visit

visit to return him thanks. On the whole, therefore, there seems to be nothing dishonourable in this transaction, for all parties were gratified in their particular views, and all seem to have been perfectly content. What is said to the contrary flows evidently from a desire of prejudising the world against the memory of men, from surmises and conjectures; a method of all others the most destructive of the end and fruit of history, which ought to discover the truth, and instruct thereby such as peruse it. As for the few remaining years of his life, they were spent by the earl of Nottingham, in honourable ease and retirement, to the time of his decease, which happened on the 14th of December, 1624, when he was in his eighty-seventh year.

He was a person extremely graceful in his appearance, of a just and honest disposition, incapable either of doing bad things, or seeing them done without exposing them. His steady loyalty to the Crown preserved his reputation unstained, and his fortune unhurt, when the rest of his family were in the utmost danger. Queen Elizabeth knew and valued his integrity, and preferred his candour to the policy of some of her greatest favourites. She had a peculiar felicity in suiting the employments of men to their capacities; and this never appeared more clearly, than on those occasions wherein she made choice of this nobleman, whose courage no danger could daunt, whose fidelity no temptation could impeach, much less corrupt. In public employments he affected magnificence, as much as he did hospitality in private life, keeping seven standing houses, as Dr Fuller phrases it, at once. It is true, we meet with opposite accounts of this lord's character and conduct, especially in the latter part of his life; but as these are only in private letters, written by one apparently prejudiced against him of whom he speaks; and as the rough soldier-like behaviour of Elizabeth's active times, suited little with the stiff and solemn air of the statesmen in King James's court, we need not wonder that among these the earl of Nottingham met with some detractors. His actions are sufficient to silence envy, and to destroy the credit of all such malicious censurers. He who beat the Spanish Armada, equipped a fleet sufficient to assert the sovereignty of the sea, in a fortnight's time, and, by his presence alone, dispirited the earl of Essex's adherents, must have been a very extraordinary man, though we should grant his enemies, that he was not very learned, expressed himself a little bluntly, and, though a person of so high quality, had little or no tincture of those arts, which, peculiar as they are, do no great honour, to a court (D).

The corpse of this noble lord was interred on the 23d of December, in the year before-mentioned, in the family vault under the chancel in the church of Ryegate in Surry; and John Taylor, the famous water-poet, celebrated his memory in a long elegy. His Lordship, as we have before

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had

(D) We cannot forbear mentioning, in this note, some particulars, which serve to distinguish this great man, and shew his fortunes in a very

singular point of light: he lived under five reigns, that is, from the twenty-eighth of Henry the Eighth, to the twenty-second of James the First,

in

had occasion to mention, was twice married, first to Catharine, daughter to Henry Cary lord Hundson, by whom he had issue two sons, William, who was summoned by writ to several parliaments during his father's life-time, and espoused Anne, daughter and sole heir to John lord St John of Bletsho; which lady Anne died 11th June 1638, and was buried at Westminster; he deceased in his father's life-time, leaving Elisabeth, his sole daughter and heir, married to John lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Peterborough; so that his second son, Charles, was his successor in his honours: also three daughters, Elizabeth, married to Sir Robert Southwell of Wood-Rising in Norfolk, knight, and afterwards to John Stuart earl of Carrick in Scotland; Francis, first to Henry Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare in Ireland, and secondly to Henry Brook, lord Cobham; and Margaret, to Sir Richard Levison of Trentham in the county of Stafford, knight, Vice-admiral of England. His second countess was Margaret, daughter to James Stuart earl of Moray in Scotland, in right of his wife Elizabeth, eldest daughter and co-heir to James earl of Moray, natural son to king James the Fifth of Scotland. And by her, who was naturalized in parliament the first of James the First, he had issue two sons, James, who died young, and Sir Charles Howard, knight, successor to his brother in the title of earl of Nottingham. This lady surviving him, became the consort of Sir William Monson, knight, Viscount Castlemain in Ireland. The last mentioned Sir Charles Howard, succeeding to the title, died April 26, 1681, and was also buried at Rye-gate. In him the earldom extinguished, but the title of baron of Effingham devolved on Francis Howard, Esq; great-grandson of Sir William Howard of Lingfield in the county of Surry, brother to Charles earl of Nottingham, to whom this article belongs; whose lineal descendant, Francis baron of Effingham, was raised to the rank of earl, by the same title, by letters-patent bearing date December 8, 1731, being at the same time deputy Earl-Marshal of England.

in a constant stream of prosperity, and with scarce any eclipse of his Sovereign's favour. He was upwards of half a century Privy-counsellor and Knight of the Garter; he served in great stations from the first to the last year of Elizabeth, which can scarce be said of any nobleman beside. At the demise of that Princeſs, he had the three greatest offices in his hands, that of Earl-Marshal of England, Lord High-Steward of the Household, and Lord High-Admiral of England. In the last Parliament of that Queen, he had eight proxies, and amongst them those of the earl of Rutland and lord Sandes, who had been both dipped in the unhappy

affair of the earl of Essex. We may from hence pronounce, that few, very few, noblemen have ever stood so high in this kingdom, without meeting either with fall or reproach. His fidelity was never so much as suspected by Queen Elizabeth, who heaped employments upon him, which she gave so sparingly to others. With all his favour he was never envied by the nobility, and through his whole life he was exceedingly popular. The only censure passed upon him was, that he took too much state in Spain; and even this, though it gave offence to some of the flatterers at court, endeared him to the nation.

Sir F R A N C I S D R A K E,

Vice-admiral; the first that made a voyage round the world, in the 1588.

SIR Francis Drake, one of the most distinguished naval heroes in the glorious reign of queen Elizabeth, was a man of whom it may be truly said, that he had a head to contrive, a heart to undertake, and conduct to execute, whatever promised glory to himself, and good to his country. Camden's account of Drake, which he professes to have taken from his own mouth, seems embarrassed with inconsistent circumstances, and consequently not much to be depended on. Stowe's account is plainer, and as early in its rise; and being very agreeable to the sequel of his story, I the rather adopt it, and is as follows. He was the son of one Edmund Drake, an honest sailor, and born near Tavistock in 1545, being the eldest of twelve brethren, and brought up at the expence and under the care of Sir John Hawkins, his kinsman. It is also said, that at the age of eighteen he was purser of a ship trading to the bay of Biscay; at twenty he made a voyage to Guinea; and at the age of twenty-two, was appointed captain of the Judith, and in that capacity was in the harbour of St John de Ulloa, in the gulf of Mexico, where he behaved very gallantly in the glorious action under Sir John Hawkins, and returned with him to England, with a high reputation, but stripped of all, and very poor. Soon after this he conceived a design of making reprisals upon the king of Spain, which, according to some, was put into his head by the chaplain of his ship: and indeed, the case was clear in sea-divinity, that the subjects of the king of Spain had undone Mr Drake, and therefore he was at liberty to take the best satisfaction he could on them in return. This doctrine, however roughly preached, was very taking in England; and therefore, no sooner did he publish his design, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though not actuated by the same motives, and, without any such pretence to colour their proceedings as he had. In 1570 he made his first voyage, with two ships, the Dragon and Swan, and the next year in the Swan alone; from which last expedition he returned safe, if not rich. Though we have no particular account of these two voyages, or what Drake performed in them, yet nothing is clearer, than that capt. Drake had two great points in view; the one was to inform himself perfectly of the situation and strength of certain places in the Spanish West Indies; the other, to convince his countrymen, that notwithstanding what had happened to capt. Hawkins in his last voyage,

age, it was a thing very practicable to sail into these parts and return in safety: for it is to be observed, that Hawkins and Drake separated in the West Indies; and that the former, finding it impossible to bring all his crew home to England, had set part of them, but with their own consent, ashore in the bay of Mexico; and, indeed, few of these finding their way home, the terror of such a captivity as they were known to endure, had a prodigious effect. But capt. Drake, in these two voyages, having very wisely avoided coming to blows with the Spaniards, and bringing home sufficient returns to satisfy his owners, dissipated these apprehensions, as well as raised his own character: so that, at his return from his second voyage, he found it no difficult matter to raise such a strength as might enable him to perform what he had long meditated in his own mind, which otherwise he would never have been able to effect. Having now means sufficient to perform greater matters, as well as skill to conduct them, he laid the plan of a more important design, which he put in execution on the twenty-fifth of March: for on that day he sailed from Plymouth, in a ship called the *Paseta*, burden seventy tons, and his brother John Drake in the *Swan*, of twenty-five tons, their whole strength consisting of only seventy-three men and boys; and with this small force, on the twenty-second of July in the year following, attacked the town of *Nombre de Dios*, which then served the Spaniards for the same purposes as *Porto Bello* does now. He took it in a few hours by storm, notwithstanding a very dangerous wound he received in the action; yet, after all, with little advantage, being obliged, after a very brisk action, to betake themselves to their ships. His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with silver, which passed from *Vera Cruz* to *Nombre de Dios*, but in this too he failed: however, attacking the former town, he carried it, and got some little plunder. In their return they unexpectedly met with fifty mules laden with plate, of which they carried off as much as possible, and buried the rest. In these enterprises he was very greatly assisted by a nation of Indians, perpetually engaged in war with the Spaniards. The prince or captain of this tribe, whose name was Pedro, capt. Drake presented with a fine cutlass, of which he saw the Indian was very fond. In return Pedro gave him four large wedges of gold, all which capt. Drake threw into the common stock, adding withal, "that he thought it but just that such as bore the charge of so uncertain a voyage, on his credit, should share the utmost advantages that voyage produced." Then embarking his men with a very considerable booty, he bore away for England, and in twenty-three days sailed from cape Florida to the isles of Scilly, and from thence arrived safely at Plymouth on the 9th of August. His success in this expedition, joined to his upright behaviour towards his owners, together with the use he made of his riches, gained him a very high reputation. For, fitting out three frigates at his own expence, he sailed with them to Ireland, where, under Walter earl of Essex (father to the earl who had been beheaded) he served as a volunteer, and did many glorious exploits.

After the death of his patron, he returned to England, where Sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain to queen Elizabeth, took him under his protection, introduced him to her Majesty, and procured him her countenance. By this means he was enabled to undertake that grand expedition which will immortalize his name. The first thing he proposed was a voyage into the South Seas, through the straits of Magellan, hitherto unattempted by any Englishman. This project was well received at court; and capt. Drake soon saw himself at the height of his wishes: for in his former voyage, having had a distant prospect of the South Seas, he ardently prayed to GOD he might sail an English ship in them, which now he found an opportunity of attempting, the Queen by her permission furnishing him with the means, and his own fame quickly drawing to him a sufficient force for that purpose. While he meditated on this great design in his own breast, without communicating it to any, he took care to procure the best lights to engage several bold and active men to serve under him where-ever he went, and by a well-timed display of public spirit, made himself known to and gained some powerful friends at court. But while he was thus warily contriving what he afterwards so happily executed, one John Oxenham, who had gained great reputation by his gallant behaviour in the last voyage under him, believed he had penetrated capt. Drake's scheme, and thought to be beforehand with him in the execution of it: accordingly this man sailed in a bark of one hundred and forty tons, with seventy brave fellows, to Nombre de Dios; where, laying his bark up in a creek, he marched across the Isthmus with his companions, got into the South Seas with some canoes, and took two Spanish ships with an immense treasure in gold and silver; but being without Drake's abilities and generosity, though nothing inferior to him in courage, fell out with his men; which occasioned such a delay in his return, that the Spaniards recovered their treasure, destroyed many of his crew, and at length took him with some of his companions, whom, for want of a commission to justify their proceedings, they hanged as pirates. Capt. Drake, before he had any knowledge of the issue of this business, and being acquainted with no more than what was public throughout all the west of England, that Oxenham was sailed upon some such design, brought his own project to bear, through the light of his own judgment, and at the expence of private persons, who had an entire confidence in him; for the fleet with which he sailed on this extraordinary enterprize, consisted of the following ships, viz. the Pelican of one hundred tons, commanded by himself; the Elizabeth, Vice-admiral, of eighty tons, under the command of capt. John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of fifty tons, under capt. John Chester; and the Christopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons under capt. Thomas Moon. In this fleet the whole number of hands embarked amounted to no more than one hundred and sixty-four able men, with all the necessary provisions for so long and dangerous a voyage; the intent of which was, however, not publicly declared, but given out to be for Alexandria, though it was generally

generally suspected, and many knew that it was designed for America. On the twenty-fifth of the same month he fell in with the coast of Barbary, and on the twenty-ninth, with cape de Verd; the thirteenth of March he passed the line; the fifth of April he made the coast of Brazil, in 30° N. lat; and entered the river de Plata, where he lost the company of two of his fleet; but meeting them again, and taking out all their hands, and the provisions they had on board, he turned them adrift. On the twenty-ninth of May he entered the port of St Julian's, where he executed Mr John Doughty, who was next in authority to himself; in which, however, he preserved a great appearance of justice.

It will, however, be necessary to give an account of this affair, as it was one of the most remarkable passages in our hero's life, with regard to his moral character. After he had continued above two months in port St Julian, lying within one degree of the straits of Magellan, to make the necessary preparations for passing the straits with safety, on a sudden having carried the principal persons engaged in the service to a desert island lying in the bay, he called a court-martial, where he opened his commission, by which the Queen granted him the power of life and death, which was delivered him with this remarkable expression from her own mouth, "We do account that he, Drake, who strikes at thee, "does strike at us." He then explained, with that wonderful fluency of speech which, with indifferent education, he was naturally master of, the cause of the assembly; and proceeded next to charge Mr John Doughty, who had been second in command during the whole voyage, first, with plotting, in his absence, to murder him.

" We had, (said he), the first notice of this gentleman's intentions before he left England; but was in hopes our behaviour would have extinguished such dispositions, if there had been any truth in the information."

He then appealed for his behaviour to the whole assembly, and to the gentleman accused: he *next* exposed his practices from the time they left England, while he behaved towards him with all the kindness and cordiality of a brother; supporting his charge by producing papers under his own hand, to which Mr. Doughty added a full and free confession. After this the captain, or, as he was then called, the general, quitted the place, telling the assembly he expected that they should pass a verdict upon him; for he would be no judge in his own cause. Camden says he was tried by a jury; and the accounts affirm, that the whole forty persons, of which the court consisted, adjudged him to death, and gave this in writing under their hands and seals, leaving the time and manner of it to the general. Upon this capt. Drake, having maturely weighed the whole affair, gave Mr Doughty his choice of three things; first, to be execute on the island where they were; secondly, to be set ashore on the main land; or, lastly, to be sent home to abide the justice of his country. After desiring till next day to consider of these, he declared that he made the first his choice; and having received the sacrament with

the general from the hands of Mr Francis Fletcher chaplain to the fleet, and made a full confession, his head was severed from his body with an ax, by the provost-marshall, July 2. 1578. This island had been the scene of another affair exactly of the same kind, fifty-eight years before, when Magellan caused John de Carthagena, who was joined in commission with him by the king of Spain, to be hanged for the like offence ; and from hence it was called the *Island of true justice*.

But, to return to an account of captain Drake's voyage : on the 20th of August he entered the streights of Magellan, on the 25th he passed them, having then with him only his own ship, which, in the South Seas, he new-named the Hind : on the 25th of November, he came to Macao, in 33° latitude, where he had appointed a rendezvous, in case his ships were parted ; but captain Winter having re-passed the streights, returned to England. From Macao Drake continued his voyage along the coasts of Chili and Peru, taking all opportunities of seizing Spanish ships, or of landing and attacking them on shore, till they were fated with plunder ; and then coasting North America to the height of 48° , he endeavoured to find a passage back into the Atlantic Ocean on that side ; a convincing evidence of his consummate skill and undaunted courage ; for if ever such a passage be found to the Northward, this in all probability will be the method. Here, being disappointed of what he sought, he landed and called the country New-Albion, taking possession of it in the name and for the use of Queen Elisabeth ; and, after careening his ship, set sail from thence on the 29th of September for the Molucca Islands. He chose this passage round, rather than to return by the streights of Magellan, partly from the danger of being attacked by the Spaniards, and partly from the lateness of the season, when dreadful storms and hurricanes were to be apprehended. Perhaps too he gave out among his seamen that he was deterred by the confident though false report of the Spaniards, that the streights could not be repassed : for it had actually been done by captain John Winter, though Drake and his company could know nothing of it then.

But that captain Drake could not apprehend any impossibility in the thing itself, appears from hence, that in this very voyage he had not only passed them, but had also been driven back again, not through the streights indeed, but in the open sea, of which Sir Richard Hawkins gives the following account from the captain's own mouth : " In all the streights it ebbeth and floweth more or less. If a man be furnished with wood and water, and the wind good, he may keep the main sea, and go round about the streights to the southward ; and this is the shorter way. For, besides the experience which we made, that all the south part of the streights is but islands, many times having the sea open, I remember that Sir Francis Drake told me, that having shot the streights, a storm took him first at north-west, and afterwards veered about to the south-west, which continued with him many days, with that extremity that he could not open any sail, and

" that at the end of the storm he found himself in fifty degrees, which
 " was sufficient proof that he was beaten round about the streights, for
 " the least height of the streights is in 52° and 56° in which stand the
 " two entrances or mouths. And moreover he said, that standing about
 " when the wind changed, he was not well able to double the souther-
 " most island, and so anchored under the lee of it; and going ashore
 " carried a compass with him, and seeking out the southermost part of
 " the island, cast himself down upon the outermost point groveling, and
 " so reached out his body over it. Soon after he embarked, where he
 " acquainted his people that he had been upon the southermost known
 " land in the world, and further to the southward upon it than any man
 " yet known."

On the 13th of October, Drake fell in with certain islands inhabited by the most barbarous people he had met with in all his voyage. On the 4th of November he had sight of the Moluccas, and coming to the island of Ternate, was extremely well received by the king of that island, who seems to have been a wise and polite prince. On the 10th of December he made Celebes, where his ship running on a rock, January 9th they got off, and continued their course. On the 16th of March he arrived at Java Major, thence intending to have proceeded to Malacca, he found himself obliged to think of returning home directly. On the 25th he put this design in execution, and on the 15th of June, doubling the Cape, he had on board his ship fifty-seven men, and but three casks of water. On the 12th of July he crossed the line, reached the coast of Guinea on the 16th, and there took in water. On the 11th of September he made the island of Tercera, and on the 3d of November following, entered the harbour of Plymouth. In this voyage he completely surrounded the globe, which no commander in chief had done before him.

Drake's success in this voyage, and the immense treasure he brought home with him, became the general topic of conversation, some highly commanding, and some as loudly censuring him. In this uncertainty matters continued during the remainder of this year, and the spring of the next, when at length, on the 14th of April, her Majesty going to Deptford went on board Drake's ship, where after dinner she conferred the honour of knighthood on him, and declared her absolute approbation of all he had done; she also gave directions for the preservation of his ship, that it might remain a monument both of himself and his country. But time, that destroys all things, having made great breaches in this vessel, which for many years had been viewed with admiration at Deptford, it was at length broken up, and a chair made out of the planks was presented by John Davies, Esq; to the university of Oxford, where it is still preserved; upon which the celebrated Cowley wrote the following epigram, that neither the hero nor his vessel might want the assistance of the Muses for rendering them both immortal.

To this great Ship, which round the world has run,
And match'd in race the chariot of the sun ;
This Pythagorean Ship, for it may claim,
Without presumption, so deserv'd a name,
By knowledge once, and transformation now,
In her new shape, this sacred port allow.
Drake and his Ship could not have wish'd from fate,
An happier station, or more bless'd estate :
For so a seat of endless rest is given,
To her in Oxford, and to him in heaven.'

In the year 1585, he again sailed to the West-Indies, having under his command, Captains Christopher Carlisle, Martin Forbisher, Francis Knollys, and many other officers of great reputation. In this expedition he took the cities of St Jago, St Domingo, Cartagena, and St Augustine, by which he even exceeded the most sanguine hopes of his warmest friends. Yet the profits of this voyage were but moderate, Sir Francis' design being rather to weaken the enemy than enrich himself.

Two years afterwards he proceeded to Lisbon with a fleet of thirty sail; and, receiving intelligence of a considerable fleet assembled in the bay of Cadiz, and intended to make part of the Spanish Armada, he bravely entered that port, and burnt upwards of ten thousand tons of shipping; when, after having thus performed all the service which the state could expect, he resolved to satisfy the merchants, who by a voluntary subscription had contributed to the fitting out his fleet. Accordingly, having advice of a large Carrack ship expected at the island of Tercera from the East-Indies, he sailed thither; and though his men were in great want of provisions, yet, by fair words and large promises, he prevailed on them to go through those hardships for a few days, in which time the East-India ship arriving, he took and carried her home in triumph: so that, during all the war, no expedition was so happily conducted as this, either with regard to reputation or profit: and therefore it is the less surprising, that upon his return he was something elated with the high applause he received: in this he was however the more excusable, as his pride always vented itself in the service of the public. It is here to be observed, that though our intrepid seaman in his voyage round the world had the Queen's commission, yet he commanded none of her ships; but in this expedition of 1587, Sir Francis was on board a man of war, and his Vice-Admiral Forbisher was in another; besides which, he had two more of her majesty's ships, together with twenty-six sail of several sizes, fitted out by the merchants of London. So that if we consider the expectations raised by his former successes, and his having now several opposite interests to serve, we cannot but allow, that his fortune was very singular, as well as his conduct truly admirable, who could give full satisfaction to all. Yet this he did to so high a degree,

that envy herself knew not what to object either to the management or issue of this voyage. If therefore Sir Francis bore his head a little higher on his return, it was a pardonable levity; and all we find objected to him is no more than this, that he merrily called this expedition, "burning the king of Spain's beard." And indeed it is allowed on all hands that he did infinite mischief, and thereby retarded the coming of the Armada for a whole year.

At this time Sir Francis undertook to convey water to the town of Plymouth, for want of which till then it was greatly distressed; and performed it by bringing thither a stream from springs at the distance of eight miles, if the distance be measured in a strait line; but in the manner by which he conducted it, the course it runs is upwards of twenty miles.

This year Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-Admiral under Lord Charles Howard of Effingham, High-Admiral of England: here he was as fortunate as ever, for he took a prize of a very large galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who yielded, without striking a blow, at the bare mention of his name.

The account of this affair is given by Sir Francis, in a letter which he wrote to the lord-treasurer Burleigh, and the substance of it is as follows: That on the 22d of July, Sir Francis observing a great Spanish ship floating at a distance from both fleets, sent his pinnace to summon those who were on board to yield; Don Valdez the commander of it, to maintain his credit and pretence to valour, returned that they were four-hundred and fifty strong, that he himself was Don Pedro, and stood much upon his honour; and thereupon proposed several conditions on which he was willing to submit: but the Vice-Admiral replied, that he had no leisure to parley; but if he thought fit instantly to strike, he might; if not, he should soon find that Drake was no coward. Pedro hearing it was Drake, whose name was so terrible to the Spaniards, presently submitted, and with forty-six of his attendants came on board Sir Francis's ship, where, after giving him the solemn Spanish congee, he protested, 'That they were all resolved to have died fighting, had they not fallen into his hands, whose fortune and valour were so great, that Mars the god of war, and Neptune the god of the sea, seemed to wait on all his attempts, and whose noble and generous carriage towards the vanquished had been oft experienced by his foes.' This Don Pedro remained above two years Sir Francis Drake's prisoner in England, and when he was released paid him for his own liberty and that of his two captains a ransom of three thousand five hundred pounds.

From this vessel of Valdez, fifty thousand ducats were distributed among his sailors and soldiers, which liberal share not a little rivetted the affection they had for their valiant commander. It must however be owned, that through an oversight of his, the Admiral ran a great hazard of being taken by the enemy; for Drake was appointed the first night of the engagement to carry lights in his ship, for the direction of the

English fleet; but being in pursuit of some hulks belonging to the Hans towns, neglected it, which occasioned the Admiral's following the Spanish lights, and in the morning he found himself in the center of the enemy's fleet. But his succeeding services sufficiently atoned for this oversight, the greatest execution done on the flying Spaniards being performed by his squadron.

The Spaniards, though their loss was so considerable, and defeat so notorious, took pains to propagate several false stories, which in some places gained so much credit as to hide their shame: and this provoked every friend to England; but none more than Sir Francis Drake, who, to shew that he could on occasion draw his pen as well as his sword, wrote the following refutation: "They were not ashamed to publish "in sundry languages in print, great victories in words; which they "pretended to have obtained against this realm, and spread the fame in "a most false sort over all parts of France, Italy, and elsewhere, when "shortly after it was happily manifested in very deed to all nations, how "their navy, which they termed invincible, consisting of one hundred "and forty sail of ships, not only of their own kingdom, but strength- "ened with the greatest Argosies, Portugal carracks, Florentines, and "large hulks of other countries, were, by thirty of her Majesty's own "ships of war, and a few of our own merchants, by the wise, valiant, "and advantageous conduct of the Lord Charles Howard, High-Admir- "al of England, beaten and shuffled together even from the Lizard in "Cornwall, first to Portland, where they shamefully left Don Pedro de "Valdez with his mighty ship; from Portland to Calais, where they "lost Hugh de Moncado, with the gallies of which he was captain; "and from Calais driven with squibs from their anchors, were chased "out of the sight of England, round about Scotland and Ireland; "where, for the sympathy of their religion, hoping to find succour "and assistance, a great part of them were crushed against the rocks, "and those other that landed, being very many in number, were not- "withstanding broken, slain, and taken: and so sent from village to "village coupled in halters, to be shipped into England, where her Ma- "jesty, of her princely and invincible disposition, disdaining to put "them to death, and scorning either to retain or entertain them, they "were all sent back again to their countries, to witness and recount the "worthy achievement of their invincible and dreadful navy. Of which "the number of soldiers, the fearful burden of their ships, the com- "manders names of every squadron, with all other their magazines of "provisions, were put in print, as an army and navy irresistible and "disdaining prevention: with all which their great and terrible ostenta- "tion, they did not in all their sailing round about England, so much "as sink or take one ship, bark, pinnace, or cock-boat of ours, or ever "burnt so much as one sheep-cote on this land."

Next year Sir Francis Drake was appointed Admiral of the fleet sent to restore Don Antonio king of Portugal, and the command of the land forces

forces given to Sir John Norris. But the fleet was scarce at sea before the commanders differed, the occasion of which was this ; the general was earnest for landing at the Groyne, whereas the Admiral and sea-officers were for sailing directly to Lisbon, in which, had their advice been taken, doubtless their enterprise had succeeded, and Don Antonio been restored : for the enemy made such good use of the time in fortifying Lisbon, that no impression could be made. Sir John indeed marched by land to Lisbon, and Sir Francis promised to sail up the river with his whole fleet, but upon perceiving the consequences, he chose rather to break his word than hazard the Queen's navy ; for which he was highly reproached by Norris, and the miscarriage of the whole affair imputed to the failure in his promise. Yet Sir Francis fully justified himself on his return ; for he shewed the Queen and council, that whatever was done there or elsewhere for the credit of the nation, was performed solely by the fleet and by his orders ; in consequence of which a large fleet laden with naval stores from the Hans towns was taken, with a great quantity of ammunition and artillery on board ; that his sailing up the river of Lisbon would have signified nothing to the taking of the castle, which was two miles off, and that without reducing it there was no taking the city. He further shewed, that had it not been for the fleet, the army must have been starved ; and that if they had staid any longer, neither fleet nor army could have returned home ; and that when he found that he could not prevail on some men to manage their own affairs right, he contented himself with managing as well as he could those that were immediately within his own province ; and with respect to these, even the censurers of this expedition admit, that no body could have managed them better.

The war with Spain still continuing, and it being evident that nothing distressed the enemy so much as the losses they met with in the Indies, a proposition was made to the Queen, by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into those parts than had hitherto been attempted ; and at the same time they offered to be at a great part of the expence themselves, and to engage their friends to bear a considerable proportion of the rest. The Queen readily listened to this proposal, and furnished a stout squadron of ships of war, on board one of which, the Garland, Sir John Hawkins embarked. Their whole force consisted of twenty-seven ships and barks, and on board of them were two thousand five hundred men. The fleet was detained some time after it was ready on the English coasts by the arts of the Spaniards, who, receiving intelligence of its strength and destination, gave out that they were ready themselves to invade England ; and, to render this the more probable, actually sent four gallies to make a descent on Cornwall. This had the desired effect, for the Queen and the nation being thereby alarmed, thought it by no means advisable to send so great a number of ships on so long a voyage at that critical juncture. At last this alarm blowing over, the fleet sailed in conjunction for destroying

Nombre

Nombre de Dios, a particular account of which will be given in the life of Sir John Hawkins, who died the day before Sir Francis made his desperate attack on the shipping in the harbour of Porto Rico, on November 13, in pursuance of a resolution taken by a council of war. This attempt was attended indeed with considerable loss to the Spaniards, yet with little advantage to the English, who, meeting with a stronger resistance and better fortifications than they expected, were obliged to sheer off. The Admiral then steered for the main, where he took the towns of Rio de la Hache, which, a church and a single house excepted, he burnt to the ground. After this, destroying some other villages, he proceeded to Santa Martha, which he also burned. The like fate had Nombre de Dios, the Spaniards refusing to ransom these places; and in them an inconsiderable booty was taken. On the 29th of December, Sir Thomas Baskerville marched with seven hundred and fifty men towards Panama, but returned on the 2d of January, finding the design of reducing that place wholly impracticable. So that the whole of this expedition was a series of misfortunes. If they had gone at first to Porto Rico, they had done the Queen's business and their own: if, when they had intelligence of the Spanish succours being landed there, they had proceeded directly to the Isthmus, in order to have executed their designs against Panama, before their forces had been weakened by that desperate attack, they might possibly have accomplished their first intention; but grasping at too many things spoiled all. A very strong sense of this threw Sir Francis Drake into a deep melancholy, which occasioned a bloody-flux, the natural disease of the country, that brought him to his end. His body, according to the custom of the sea, was sunk very near the place where he first laid the foundation of his fame and fortune. Such was the end of this great man, having, according to some, lived fifty-five years, and according to others only fifty-one. His death was generally lamented by the whole nation, but more especially by those of his native place, who had great reasons to love him from the circumstances of his private life, as well as to esteem him in his public character. He had been elected burgess for the town of Bossiney in Cornwall, in the parliament held the 27th of Queen Elisabeth, and afterwards for Plymouth in Devonshire, in the 35th of the same reign. Having hitherto spoken of his public actions, we shall now say something of his person and character.

He was low of stature, but well set, had a broad open chest, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complexion, with a fresh, cheerful, and engaging countenance: as navigation had been his whole study, he was a perfect master in every branch of it, especially astronomy, and the application of it to the nautical art. His voyage round the world is an incontestable proof of his courage, capacity, patience, perspicuity, and public spirit; since he performed every thing that could be expected from a man who preferred the honour and profit of his country to his own private advantage: and it is apparent, that if Sir Francis Drake
amassed

amassed a large fortune by continually exposing himself to labours and perils, which hardly any other man would have undergone, for the sake even of the greatest expectations, he was far from being governed by a narrow and private spirit: on the contrary, his notions were free and noble; and the nation stands indebted to him for the following advantages.

1. He was the great author of our navigation to the West-Indies: for though he was not the first that went thither, yet after the severe check which Sir John Hawkins met with, when Drake commanded the Judith, our seamen were much discouraged, and would scarce have adventured upon any expeditions of that sort in haste, had he not encouraged them by his two prosperous voyages. In these he was remarkably careful of the health and safety of his seamen, that he might not only beget in them a confidence in himself, but a thorough contempt of those vulgar fears, which represented voyages into that part of the world as so difficult and dangerous. In this he succeeded so well that in a very few years many small vessels, most of them commanded by persons who had failed under him, followed that course, brought great wealth into the nation, and accustomed the English mariners to traverse seas and visit ports to which, but for his vigilance and good fortune, they had remained much longer strangers.

2. He was also the first that shewed his own nation, what till then no other had ever attempted, that it was practicable with a very small force to act against the Spaniards, both by sea and land. For after he was known to be on the coast, and to have committed hostilities, he had the courage to resolve upon remaining there, and to do his business with pinaces, finding his ships too large, and therefore intending to destroy one, and convert the other into a store-ship; but knowing that the seamen would never consent to this, he prevailed on the carpenter of the lesser to bore holes in the bottom of her, without communicating the design to his own brother, who commanded her. This was followed with as much success as he could wish, since he kept the bay of Mexico blocked up; and his fertility in inventing expedients to answer all purposes, and to provide against all dangers, excited that amazing spirit among the seamen of his time, as is scarce credible in ours.

3. His genius was far from being confined to small undertakings, tho' necessity occasioned its first appearance in such. For when he undertook his voyage round the world, he not only framed the scheme in his own mind, but kept it within his own breast, bringing it forth only by parts, as the execution required, and proposing nothing till he had made the necessary provisions for effecting it, though without any communication, by which he drew his people first into the South-Seas, thence to the East-Indies, and home by a route new both to himself and them.

4. Cambden and other writers assure us, that Sir Francis Drake first brought tobacco into England; in which he was a very great benefactor to his country, since it will not be easy to name any one commodity through

through which such vast advantages have accrued to this nation. Sir Walter Raleigh indeed is commonly allowed this honour, but then it is grounded on his bringing it into vogue by his own example. Yet in both these great men, the good done to their country was but accidental, it not being possible for either of them to foresee what prodigious wealth the cultivation of tobacco could bring into Great Britain; and yet this ought not to lessen our veneration towards their memories. The last thing I shall mention is on Camden's authority, that he was the author of our trade to the East-Indies; for as that learned writer informs us, the books, papers, and charts, found in the East-India ship which he took in his return from his expedition to the coasts of Spain in 1587, gave those lights which encouraged the undertaking a trade to those parts, and produced an application to the Queen for establishing our first East-India company. Let us conclude with a circumstance which deserves to be remembered to the honour of this worthy person and of Sir John Hawkins, who in 1583 advised the establishment of the chest at Chatham, for the relief of seamen wounded in their country's service.

It was the felicity of our admiral to live in the time of a princess, who always took care to distinguish merit. Sir Francis therefore was always her favourite; and when his countryman Sir Bernard Drake also a seaman, whose arms Sir Francis had assumed, was so incensed as to give him a box on the ear; the queen was pleased to honour him with a new coat, *viz.* sable, a fess wavy between two pole-stars, argent; and for his crest, a ship on a globe under a ruff, held by a cable with a hand out of the clouds, and over it this motto, **AUXILIO DIVINO**; underneath, **SIC PARVUS MAGNA**; in the rigging is hung up by the heels a wivern gules, which was the coat of Sir Bernard. Her majesty's kindness, however, did not reach beyond the grave; for she suffered his brother Thomas Drake to be prosecuted for a pretended debt to the crown, which much diminished the advantages he otherwise would have reaped from his brother's fortune. This brother of his had accompanied him in his last expedition, as his brothers John and Joseph had done in his first voyages to the West-Indies, where they both died. The land estate, purchased by Sir Francis, which was very considerable, (for though on proper occasions he was extremely generous, yet he was also a good economist), devolved to his nephew Francis Drake son to his brother, the aforesaid Thomas, who, in the succeeding reign, was created a baronet. In the possession of the lineal descendant of his family, *viz.* Sir Francis Henry Drake baronet, is a bible to be seen with an inscription indented on the edges, signifying that it made the tour of the world with Sir Francis Drake; as also many other relicks preserved in the cabinets of the curious in memory of this famous person, as a staff made out of his ship, before it was broke up, in that of Mr Thoresby of Leeds. And hardly is there any collection of English money in which we may not find pieces of queen Elizabeth's coin supposed to be marked with a drake in honour of Sir Francis's voyage round the world in the 22d year of her reign.

Sir *WALTER RALEIGH.*

SIR Walter Raleigh's character being a combination of those great qualities which constitute a statesman, a commander both by sea and land, and a writer of distinguished merit; his memoirs must consequently exhibit a series of remarkable and interesting transactions, intermixed with a variety of prosperous and adverse fortune, in which he exemplified the force and extent of an uncommon genius; and therefore it will be a pleasing task to give a particular detail of the transactions of this great man.

In the West were several families of the name of Raleigh; he was the son of Walter Raleigh, esq; of Fardel, eight miles east of Plymouth in Devonshire, by his third wife Katharine daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Madbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert of Compton in the aforesaid county; so that our present hero was half brother to those famous knights, Sir John, Sir Humphry and Sir Adrian Gilbert. He was born in the year 1552, at Hayes, a farm in the same country, near the mouth of the Ottery, and in the parish of Budley, belonging to his father.

After having laid the foundation of grammatical learning in his own county, he was sent, while very young, to the university of Oxford; since it appears from the best authority that he was there in 1568, and soon distinguished himself by a proficiency in literature far beyond his years. Oriel-college and Christ-church both claim him for their student; but when or how long he continued there is not very clear. However, thus far is certain, that after giving sufficient specimens of the strength and vivacity of his genius by a diligent application to his studies, he quitted the university without a degree at the age of seventeen, and about the year 1569 entered a volunteer under his kinsman Henry Champernon, who, at the head of several young gentlemen of good families, had permission to go and assist the protestants in France, at that time grievously oppressed, and then the best school of war for training up youth in the military art, and improving them in the knowledge of languages, and the manners of different nations, who were assembled on this grand theatre of action.

In this expedition he acquired both skill and reputation, as appears both from the judicious observations on these wars interspersed in his works, and from the testimony of cotemporary and credible writers. While here he had the command of a troop of horse quartered in Languedoc; in 1569, he was at the battle of Moncontour in Poictou, where one half of the protestant army, then broken, was saved by the prudence and resolution of Lewis of Nassau, brother to William I. prince of Orange.

From a comparison of facts and dates, it appears that he was employed here upwards of five years; nor did he return to England till the latter

end

end of the year 1575, where his stay was very short; for from an earnest desire of improving his military talent, and a strong thirst for glory, he entered that very year into the service of the prince of Orange against the Spaniards, in the Netherlands; and here he distinguished himself at the battle of Rimenant fought on the first of August, where don John of Austria was defeated, and died of grief soon after.

Here it is worthy remark, that though numbers of persons in those days suffered their minds to be corrupted by the licentiousness of a camp, and the boisterous humour, which some consider as the true characteristic of a soldier; Raleigh, on the contrary, made the proper use of his service abroad by increasing his stock of knowledge, improving his military skill by experience, and so completely polishing his address and deportment, that, on his return home, he was considered as one of the most accomplished gentlemen in England.

In the following year, after his return from the Low Countries, he found his half brother Sir Humphry Gilbert engaged in a design of making discoveries in North-America, for which he had obtained a patent. Raleigh was so much taken with the scheme, that he cordially embarked in it. But when this expedition came to be executed, most of those concerned in it drew back. Raleigh, however, not only continued steady to his engagements, but resolved to accompany his brother: and though this was but an unsuccessful undertaking, in which they not only missed of the great discoveries they flattered themselves with making, but were vigorously attacked in their return by a superior Spanish force, and after a very gallant defence lost one of the best ships in their small fleet, and in it a brave young gentleman called Miles Morgan; yet Raleigh was not intimidated from venturing a second time to sea: for soon after his arrival in England, we find him honoured with a captain's commission under Arthur lord Grey, deputy of Ireland, in order to suppress the rebellion of the earl of Desmond, lately supported by a body of Spanish and Italian troops, sent into that kingdom with the benediction, and under the banner of the pope.

Upon his arrival in Ireland, about the year 1581, being under the command of Thomas earl of Ormond president of Munster, he did his country a very signal service by surprising the Irish kearns at Rakele, whom he took alive except those who refused quarter. At which time observing that one of the prisoners was laden with withes or willows, and demanding what he intended to have done with them, answer was boldly made, 'To have hung up the English churls;' on which Raleigh ordered him to be immediately dispatched in the same manner, and treated the rest of these robbers and murderers according to their deserts.

The Spanish succours, assisted by a choice body of their Irish allies, had fortified a castle called Del Ore, which they intended as a place of retreat, and a key to admit fresh succours from abroad, for which purpose it was very commodiously situated, as standing on the bay of Smerwick in the county of Kerry. This fort lord Grey, who was much

prejudiced against the Irish, and a man of a severe temper, being resolved at all hazards to take, it was accordingly besieged with his small army.

In the reduction of this place Raleigh bore a great share, and commanded often in the trenches with such undaunted courage, that the enemy was at last forced to surrender at discretion; and he and Mackworth, who had the word of the day, and first entered the castle, were ordered to put the greatest part of the garrison to the sword; which they executed, though with the utmost regret, on the ninth of November.

From thence the army going into winter quarters, Raleigh was ordered to Cork, where his indefatigable diligence in his sovereign's service had like to have cost him his life. For observing the seditious practices of David lord Barry, and his accomplices, he hastened to Dublin, and remonstrated to the lord deputy the dangerous consequences of them in such a strong light, that his lordship and council granted him a commission to seize the castle of Barry-Court, and to reduce the rebel by what means he thought proper. However, the secret got air; and lord Barry burnt his own castle to the ground, laying waste all the country round it. He then ordered Fitz-Edmonds, one of the party, to ly in ambuscade for Raleigh with a troop of horse and some of his kearns; accordingly, at Corabby-ford between Youghal and Cork, they endeavoured to surprize him from their ambush, as he advanced alone towards the ford, his small company of six horsemen being negligently dispersed behind. But Raleigh resolutely encountered and broke through them, so as to get clear over the river. Soon after Mr Henry Moyle following him, but either taking too deep a passage where it was not fordable, or stumbling from some other accident, he fell into the middle of the river, where calling to Raleigh for help, the latter despising danger, ventured into the stream to rescue his companion. Nor was this all; for Mr Moyle remounting in too great a hurry, overleaped his horse, and fell down on the other side into a deep mire, where he must inevitably have been suffocated, if Raleigh had not recovered him a second time, and brought him safe on shore. Raleigh, upon his recovering the opposite bank, stood there with a staff in one hand, and a pistol in the other to protect the rest of his company, who had yet the river to cross, and among these was his man Jenkin, with two hundred pounds of his money about him: Fitz-Edmonds, though supported with upwards of twenty men, not daring to attack him otherwise than with foul language.

The government having had proofs of Mr Raleigh's merit, in the spring gave him a joint commission with Sir William Morgan and captain Piers to be governor of Munster; in which character continuing to perform many important services, he was rewarded with the grant of a large estate in the country he had reduced.

Mr Raleigh took up his quarters at Lismore, and spent all the ensuing summer in the woods and neighbouring country in continual action against the rebels. From thence he removed with his little body of eighty foot, and eight horse, to Cork; but receiving intelligence on the road,

that

that lord Barry was at Clove, with several hundred men, he resolved to pass through that town, and offer him battle. Barry met him at the end of the town, where Raleigh charged his forces with such bravery, that they all ran away. After this, expecting no further interruption, he marched forward with only six horsemen; but observing a body of the enemy much superior to his in number, drawn up in a plain near the side of a wood, he resolved to attack them, and soon put them into disorder. However, finding their retreat to the wood cut off, and having no other way to escape, the rebels determined to sell their lives at as dear a rate as possible: accordingly facing about, and fighting very desperately, they killed five of the horses belonging to Raleigh's men, and amongst these his own; and he himself had probably shared the same fate, had not his servant Nicholas Wright seasonably interposed, engaged six of the enemy at once, and dispatched one of them; while Patrick Fagan, another of his servants, happily rescued Raleigh, after it had been unsuccessfully attempted by Fitz-Richard and his kern: in which encounter the master was dangerously wounded, and his kern slain.

Many of the rebels perished in this skirmish, and two of them were taken and carried to Cork, where Raleigh again performed signal services, and particularly distinguished himself by his courage and address in seizing lord Roch in his own castle, on suspicion of holding a treasonable correspondence with the chief of the rebels.

In August this year captain John Zouch being made governor of Munster, by the lord deputy Grey, Raleigh for a while was appointed governor of Cork. But upon the reduction of the earl of Desmond, the slaughter of his brothers, and the submission of Barry, his company was disbanded, and he himself having many enemies, and among these the lord deputy Grey, was recalled about the close of the same year to England, where he was soon introduced to the notice of his royal mistress; and, through his own merits, possessed a large share of her favour. Upon his observing this, he took an opportunity at court to write on the pane of a glass window which he knew would be obvious to her eye, the following line.

“ Fain would I climb, yet fear to fall.”

Under which her majesty put,

“ If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.”

The Queen, however, discerning his eminent accomplishments, was willing to advance him. And, as an early proof of her kind intentions, nominated him among those persons of distinction, who, by the Queen's express command, were to accompany the duke of Anjou on his return to the Netherlands in February; and at his return the same year he was charged with the prince of Orange's letters to the Queen; and at the delivery of them, the prince desired Raleigh to tell her majesty from him,
SUB UMBRA ALARUM TUARUM PROTEGIMUR.

Some

Some months afterwards he resided at court, and was honoured with the favour and protection of the contending statesmen, who were proud of shewing the true judgment they made of merit, by becoming patrons to Raleigh. In the autumn following he defended himself with such solidity at the council-board against the imputations of lord Grey, who had resigned the sword of Ireland about the end of August, that he fixed himself in the good opinion both of her Majesty and the lords of her council; which, backed by the friendship of the earl of Leicester the Queen's favourite, is supposed to have laid the foundation of his future fortune at court; though it was retarded by his engaging in a second expedition to Newfoundland with his half brother Sir Humphry Gilbert.

Raleigh was so fond of this undertaking, that though he did not go in person, yet at his own charge he built a ship of two hundred tons, called *the bark Raleigh*, and furnished her completely for the voyage. And though the bark was obliged, by reason of a contagious distemper amongst the crew, to return to Plymouth three days after their sailing from that port; yet neither this accident, nor the unfortunate loss of his kinsman, together with the greatest part of his fleet, which were lost in their return from Newfoundland, could divert him, after Sir Humphry had taken possession of it in right of the crown of England, from pursuing a scheme of such importance to his country, as these discoveries in North-America seemed to promise. And therefore, after drawing up an account of the advantages he supposed might arise from the prosecution of such a design, and the means of accomplishing it; he laid it before the Queen and council, who were so well satisfied with it, that her Majesty on the twenty fifth of March granted him letters patent in favour of his project, containing entire liberty for discovering such remote and barbarous lands as were not actually in the possession of any Christian power. This seasonable interposition of Raleigh's kept alive that commendable spirit of discovering and planting distant countries, which ever since has proved of such infinite advantage to the trade and navigation of Great Britain.

Raleigh, though perhaps not ignorant of the false step he had taken in turning his back on his interest at court, was not long before he carried his patent into execution; for he fitted out two large vessels at his own expence, and gave the command of them to able and experienced persons, namely Philip Amidas, and Arthur Barlow; and, on the twenty seventh of April following, the ships sailed from the west of England for the coast of North-America; where they safely arrived on the seconf of July; but kept along shore about one hundred and twenty miles before they could meet with a convenient harbour. At last they debarked on a very low island called Wokoken, where they took formal possession of the country, on the thirteenth of the said month, in the name of the queen of England, and carried on a friendly correspondence with the native Indians, who courteously supplied them with great variety of fish and venison, and gave them furs and deer-skins in exchange for toys and the like trifles. Here they continued some time; and, after taking an

accurate

accurate survey of the situation of the neighbouring country, and gaining the best intelligence they could of the number and strength of the Indian nations inhabiting the adjacent parts, their connections, alliances, or mutual contests, they returned to England about the middle of September; and made such an advantageous report of the fertility of the soil, and the salubrity of the climate, that her Majesty not only favoured the design of settling a colony there, but bestowed on it the name of Virginia, in memory of her being a maiden queen.

Raleigh was now become very popular, was returned knight of the shire with Sir William Courtney for the county of Devon, and made a considerable figure in the house of commons. While he was member of that house, an occasion offered of his entering the royal presence in his senatorial capacity, and receiving the honour of knighthood, though the Queen was very reserved in her favours of that kind; but the time when this transaction happened is not exactly known.

He also obtained during this session of parliament a confirmation of his patent for the discovery of foreign countries; and, to enable him the better to accomplish his great undertakings, her Majesty was pleased to grant him an exclusive licence for vending wines throughout the kingdom.

Sir Walter Raleigh thus flushed with the favour of his royal mistress, and entertaining vast expectations from Virginia, sent a fleet of seven sail to prosecute the grand design under the command of his cousin Sir Richard Grenville, general of the expedition, and Mr Ralph Lane, appointed governor of the colony, which was now to be transported thither. They sailed from Plymouth on the ninth of April, and came to an anchor at Wokoken on the twenty sixth of June; where they were received with the same civilities as before by the natives: so that the general taking a week's provisions with him and a select company, ventured to make a progress into the main land, and visited several Indian towns; but a silver cup being purloined from them by the Indians, he unadvisedly burnt down the town, and destroyed the corn fields; an act which they had afterwards abundant reason to repent of, and which obliged them to return with precipitation to their ships.

They however left a colony of one hundred and seven persons at Roanok, the king's residence; and then, weighing their anchors, sailed to Hatteras, where they continued a few days, treating with the chiefs of the natives in those parts; after which they put to sea on the twenty fifth of August, and arrived at Plymouth the eighteenth of October following, having in their passage taken a Spanish prize worth fifty thousand pounds; which good fortune was this year considerably augmented by a royal grant to Sir Walter Raleigh of twelve thousand acres of land, as a signiory out of the forfeited estates in Ireland, and an acknowledgment of his good services in suppressing the rebellion in Munster. This estate he planted at his own expence; and, after the Queen's death, sold it to Richard Boyle the first earl of Cork.

This good fortune encouraged Sir Walter to fit out a third fleet for supporting

supporting and encreasing the little colony left under the direction of M. Lane: but these being reduced to great streights before relief could arrive from Europe, went on board Sir Francis Drake's squadron, which had touched there in their return from the conquest of St Domingo, Carthagena, and St Augustine. However, Sir Richard Grenville, tho' he was entirely ignorant of the real occasion of this desertion, landed fifteen men on the island Roanok with provisions for two years: and, in his return, had the good fortune to take several Spanish prizes at the Azores; where two other ships, fitted out by Raleigh, took more prizes from that nation than they could bring home, on board of one of which was the governor of St Michael's island, and Pedro de Sarmiento governor of the Straights of Magellan, the most experienced navigator in Spain.

Sir Walter this year also fitted out his fine pinnace, *viz.* the Dorothy, to sail into the South Sea, under the command of the earl of Cumberland; though the success of this expedition consisted solely in the taking a few small prizes.

This good fortune abroad, Sir Walter greatly improved by his prudent behaviour at home; so that her Majesty was pleased to make him seneschal of the duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord Warden of the stannaries in Devonshire and Cornwall: preferments which drew upon him immediately the envy of those, who, being inferior to him in merit, despaired by all their intrigues to attain the like advantages, and created such a jealousy in his former patron the earl of Leicester, that he set up in opposition to him his nephew the young earl of Essex. And we are told by Sir Henry Wotton, that Farleton, the most celebrated actor of that age, was forbid the royal presence for presuming to reflect on Raleigh's power and influence with the Queen.

Raleigh was a member of that parliament which determined the fate of Mary queen of Scots; and one of the committee appointed to deliberate on the amendment of some particulars, to which the clergy were required to be sworn, and to consider the proper means for procuring a learned ministry; her Majesty having, in her speech at the close of the last session, reminded the bishops of some faults and negligences, for which she threatened to depose them, if they did not redress them immediately.

This year also begun prosperously with him, being by her Majesty's favour raised to the post of captain of her guard, which he held with all his former places: but the news from Virginia (for which country he had also fitted out a fourth fleet at his own expence) something allayed the satisfaction arising from thence. For first he heard, that the natives had cut off the fifteen planters left at Roanok the preceding year; and that his two ships laden with provisions and other necessaries, lately dispatched for the subsistence of a new colony of one hundred and fifty men, who arrived at Hattarass on the twenty third of July, were rifled and disabled by two strong men of war from Rochelle, which fell in with them fifty leagues north-east of Madeira, and then obliged them to put back for England.

These disappointments, however, served only to shew our hero's constancy, and the unshaken firmness with which he pursued whatever appeared to him conducive to the public benefit, how detrimental soever it was to his private interest. Justly therefore was the wise Queen liberal to such a man, who, whatever he received from her bounty with one hand, directly expended it in acts glorious to the nation with the other.

In November, his abilities as an officer both by sea and land recommended him to be one of the council of war, being appointed to consider of the most effectual methods for the security of the nation against the intended Spanish invasion; in which capacity he gave a signal proof of his great judgment, by the scheme he drew up for that purpose, which may be of the greatest use to this island for its defence on every such emergency. And to shew that he would not confine himself to the mere province of giving advice, he no sooner saw the necessity, than he exerted himself effectually in every circumstance which could contribute to the defence and honour of his country. He raised and disciplined the militia in Cornwall; and not satisfied with doing his utmost by land, he exposed his person with a squadron of volunteers composed of nobles and gentlemen, who joined the fleet in July, and bore a considerable share in the several engagements with, and at last in the total destruction of, the invincible Spanish Armada. Such eminent services could not fail of recommending him effectually to her Majesty, who admitted him gentleman of her privy-chamber, and granted him some additional advantages to his wine office.

The losses he met with in settling his new colony in Virginia, amounting to upwards of 40,000*l.* determined him to make over an assignment of his right, title, and interest therein to certain gentlemen and merchants of London. It does not appear that he parted with his property from a prospect of gain, or backwardness of running any further hazard; for, instead of taking a pecuniary consideration, he contributed, at the time of making the assignment, which was on the 7th of March, 1589, 100*l.* towards their first expences; nor did he make any reserve for himself, except the fifth part of all gold and silver ore; promising, at the same time, his advice and interest on all future occasions, if required: so that from the difficulties with which they struggled for twenty years it sufficiently appeared, that it was not through any fault of the original proprietor, Virginia did not sooner flourish; and that his wisdom was no less conspicuous in the disposal of his concern in it, than his courage and conduct were to be admired in first fixing on so advantageous a spot, which since that time hath proved itself worthy of all the care and expence employed in its support.

In the beginning of the year 1589, he was ordered with Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris, to assist don Antonio king of Portugal, in that expedition which the Queen enabled that prince to make, in order to recover his dominions from Philip II. King of Spain. Her Majesty's contingent consisted of six men of war, to which her public-spirited

subjects, who were adventurers in this undertaking, added 120 sail of ships, and between 14 and 15,000 men, including soldiers and sailors. In the course of the expedition he took a great number of large ships belonging to the Hanse towns, which were laden with Spanish goods, provisions, and ammunition, and intended for a new invasion of England; and his conduct throughout the whole was so highly satisfactory to her Majesty, that she was pleased to honour him as well as the other commanders with a gold chain.

We must not here forget to mention, that, touching on the coast of Ireland, in the following year, he met with Spencer the poet, drew him from obscurity, presented that admirable writer to Queen Elisabeth, and afterwards encouraged him in the publication of his *Fairy-Queen*, Raleigh himself having an excellent genius as well as taste for poetry; of which he gave specimens celebrated by a very judicious writer, as early as the year 1589.

About the end of the year 1590, Raleigh undertook to fit out a strong fleet against the Spaniards in the West Indies, and particularly to take the plate-fleet, and sack Panama. This scheme, like that of Portugal, was partly supported by the Queen, and partly by private persons, the principal among whom were Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir John Hawkins; the former intending to go in person as commander in chief of the fleet, and expending considerable sums of his own and his friends. His scheme was so well approved of by the Queen, that to his thirteen ships well manned, and provided with all necessaries, she added two of her own men of war. But this fleet was unfortunately detained by contrary winds and other accidents on the English coast for twelve weeks, after which Sir Walter sailed on the 6th of May. Next day Sir Martin Frobisher followed, and overtook him with a letter of recal from her Majesty; but he, thinking that his honour was too far engaged for him to retract, continued at sea; but being driven on the coast of Spain by a storm, knowing the season was too far advanced to proceed to Panama, he divided his fleet into two parts, and then returned, after committing one squadron to Sir John Burgh (or Burrough), with orders to proceed to the Azores, and cruise there for the Carracks from the East-Indies; and the other to Sir Martin Frobisher, with directions to ly off the south cape, to keep in port and terrify the Spaniards on their own coast. This shewed his admirable judgment; for the Spaniards, alarmed at the appearance of Frobisher's squadron on their coast, assembled their whole naval force to defend their Southern provinces; by which means the Carracks fell in with Sir John Burgh, who happily made himself master of the Madre de Dios, one of the largest ships belonging to the crown of Portugal, and which he brought safely into Dartmouth, the 7th of September of the same year.

This Carrack being the most considerable prize taken in this war, a particular account of her is as follows: She carried 1600 tons, of which 900 were merchandize; 32 brass cannon, and between 6 and 700 passengers;

sengers; was built with decks seven story high; one main orlope, three close decks, one fore-castle, and a spare deck of two floors. She was in length from the beak-head to the stern, 165 feet; in breadth, near 47; the length of her keel, 100 feet; of the main-mast, 121; and of her main-yard, 106. Her lading, from a catalogue taken at Leadenhall, the 15th of September, this year, consisted of spices, drugs, silks, callicoes, carpets, quilts, cloth made of the rind of trees, ivory, china-ware, ebony, besides pearl, musk, civet, and ambergrise, and many other commodities.

Her cargo freighted ten of our vessels for London, and by a moderate computation was valued at 150,000*l.* This ship, when first taken, was judged both by Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir John Hawkins, to have been worth at least four times that sum; but in spite of all Sir John Burgh's care, the sailors embezzled a great deal of her valuable effects; nor were the proprietors much better off, when she was brought home. For, says Sir William Monson, "The Queen's adventure in this voyage was only two ships, the least of which was at the taking the Carrack: which title, joined to her royal authority, she made such use of, that the rest of the adventurers were forced to submit themselves to her pleasure, with whom she dealt but indifferently." From hence it appears, that the Queen, and not Sir Walter, had most advantage from this capture; and probably this was the case upon other occasions, tho' Sir Walter generally bore the blame.

In the latter end of this year, he distinguished himself in parliament, where he exerted all the abilities of an accomplished orator, and declared strongly for an open war against Spain; so that from the remains which we have of his speeches, we are at a loss whether we ought most to admire the beauty of his eloquence, or the strength of his understanding. But he could not escape the shaft of malevolence; his public conduct in the senate, and his assistance in framing the proclamation against the Popish seminaries abroad, provoked the Jesuits to represent him in the character of an Atheist; and though his works are an irrefragable proof of the contrary, we find his enemies at home, who were not able to attack him fairly, propagated that vile imputation, and made use of it to corrupt his jury on his trial afterwards at Winchester.

But another reason for branding such an odious title on so strenuous an asserter of a God and Providence, was founded on his soliciting and obtaining of the crown, in 1594, some church-lands, namely the manour of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, which had been alienated from the See of Salisbury, on the election of Dr John Coldwell to that bishopric; a method not unusual in those days for rewarding such as had performed eminent services to their country.

But besides his being a strong advocate for the being of a God, he was the patron and protector of men of learning, the great encourager of all public enterprizes, and one of the Queen's declared favourites at court. In this zenith of his sovereign's esteem, he was however so im-

prudent as to fall in love with Mrs Elisabeth Throgmorton, daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the Ambassador, one of the Queen's ladies of honour; and the consequences of this amorous intrigue were such as could not be concealed. By this means he incurred her Majesty's high displeasure: and though he afterwards married that lady, and the Queen had overlooked errors of the same nature in Leicester and Essex, yet she very severely punished this mistake of Raleigh; putting him under arrest for several months, and could never be persuaded to admit him to her royal presence till his return from the rich and extensive empire of Guiana, a country in South-America, the discovery of which he had meditated in his retirement, and which the Spaniards had then only visited, and to this day have never been able to conquer.

Sir Walter sufficiently perceiving from several circumstances that his interest in the Queen's favour had been greatly impaired through his impolitic amour with her maid of honour, made it his business to collect all the informations possible relating to this place, and the means of entering it. When he thought himself as fully master of the subject as books could render him, he drew up instructions for captain Whiddon, whom he dispatched thither to survey the coast, and who returned with a favourable account of the country, the possibility of its conquest, and the cruelty of the Spaniards settled in its neighbourhood.

His noble friends, the Lord High-Admiral Howard, and Sir Robert Cecil, were so well satisfied with the project, that they joined with him in equipping a squadron at their own expence, and furnishing every thing necessary for such an adventure. And having acquired a permission from the Queen, Sir Walter sailed from Plymouth on the 6th of February, 1595, in order, that by distressing the enemy, doing honour to his sovereign, and enriching the nation, he might appease the powerful displeasure of the Queen. But it had the contrary effect, and laid him open to the malignant tongues of his domestic enemies; who, during his absence on this voyage, gave out that it was no more than a bravado; adding that he was retired only to Cornwall, or some other place; that he was too much addicted to ease and pleasure to undertake a voyage of such vast difficulty; or that he sailed with an intent to cheat his constituents, by deserting to the king of Spain. These and the like malicious reports were industriously propagated.

In the mean time, Sir Walter's squadron, soon after their departure, were separated by a storm; but he steer'd his course towards the Canary Islands, where upon any such emergency he had appointed the rendezvous. On his arrival here, after refreshing his ship's crew, and that of captain Crofts' small bark, and not finding his company, he proceeded at the end of eight days to the island of Trinidad, in 8° on this side the Line; where he arrived on the 22d of March following, and came to an anchor at cape Curiapon, called by the Spaniards Punto de Galló. And in order to make the better discovery of this island, he took his barge and coasted it close along the shore, landing in every cove, that he might

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speak with some of the inhabitants, and obtain an adequate knowledge of the rivers, watering-places, and parts of the island. In this course between Perico and Piche or Tierra de Brea, in a salt-water river, he met with the oyster-tree mentioned by Pliny. And at Tierra de Brea he found such quantities of mineral-pitch, that he declares all the ships in the world might be freighted with it from thence, and that it is preferable to the Norway pitch for trimming ships, as the sun cannot melt it.

On his arrival at Puerto de las Hispaniolos, he was agreeably received by the ships which missed him off the Canaries: and here entering into a trade with the natives, and also finding the strength of the Spanish soldiers who guarded the landing-place, not sufficient to make any resistance, he offered them peace, and took hostages for their good behaviour. By this means Sir Walter obtained such information of the dissatisfaction of the natives, under their new masters the Spaniards, and of the weakness of the garrisons under the Spanish governour, that he resolved to attempt the conquest of this island, in order to be revenged on Don Antonio de Berreo, the governour, who, contrary to his promise, had decoyed ashore, and made eight of captain Whiddon's people prisoners the preceeding year, and at the same time secure a retreat for himself, and a place for his ships to ride in with safety, till he proceeded on his discovery of Guiana. Accordingly he took the advantage of a convenient time for attacking them; and, when least expected, fell upon the corps de garde in the evening, and after putting them to the sword, sent captain Calfield forward with 60 soldiers, and himself following with 40 more, stormed the small city of St Joseph that same night, and entering it after a feeble resistance, about break of day, cut off all the Spaniards, except Berreo, and his companion, both whom he sent aboard, released five Indian cassiquis or chiefs, from a noisome dungeon, where they were confined, almost starved to death, and quite exhausted with cruel tortures; and, to oblige the Indians, he burnt down this new city.

Having thus executed his intention, he turned his thoughts entirely to the intended discovery; and summoned the chiefs of the island who were enemies to the Spaniards, and by his interpreter told them, "That he was the servant of a Queen, who was the great cassiqui of the North, and a virgin, and had more cassiquis under her, than there were trees in the island; that she was an enemy to the Castellani, (Spaniards), because of their cruelty and oppression; and that having freed all the coasts of the northern world from their servitude, she had sent him to deliver them also; and withal to defend the country of Guiana from their invasion and conquests."

This speech, ushered in with the slaughter of their oppressors, inspired the natives with such grand ideas of Queen Elisabeth, that they were almost ready to pay divine honours to her picture, which Sir Walter at the same time presented to their view; and thus engaged them to give what information they could of Guiana.

Having by these means secured his interest in Trinidade, he weighed anchor,

anchor, and returned to Curiapan, where, after very closely examining Berreo, who had made several attempts towards the discovery of Guiana, he was so wrought upon by Sir Walter's kind treatment of him under his confinement, that he gave the Admiral more insight into that country, than he had ever learned before, and convinced him that he had been mis-informed of its situation, and that the empire of Guiana lay 600 miles further within the country, than he had been made to believe; a disagreement which Sir Walter thought proper not to communicate to his fellow-adventurers, who probably would never have been persuaded to make the attempt at such a distance.

Upon receiving this information, Sir Walter left his ships at Trinidade; and with 100 men, and provisions for a month, entered the river Oronoque in his small craft, and proceeded 400 miles up that river; but being exposed, on one hand to the violent heat of the sun, directly over their heads, and on the other, incommoded by violent storms of rain, besides many other difficulties they met with in their course, he was obliged, by reason of the land-floods in April, occasioned by the continual rains at that season, to return to his ships without reaching the country he went in search of. Carrapana, indeed, one of the petty kings of the country, with several others, resigned their sovereignties into his hands, for the Queen's use; but the inhabitants of Cumana refusing to bring in the contribution he laid on them to save the town, he set fire to it, as also to part of St Mary's, and Rio de la Hacha. However, in general, Sir Walter so ingratiated himself, and endeared the English name to the several natives bordering on that great river, as to secure an entrance into Guiana, and allies to assist her Majesty's subjects, who hereafter might be sent to complete so noble a work.

On his return he made the following pathetic complaints:—" Of that little remain I had, I have wasted in effect all herein; I have undergone many constructions; I have been accompanied with many sorrows, with labour, hunger, heat, sickness, and peril; and returned a beggar, and withered: yet I might have bettered my poor estate by plunder, if I had not only respected her Majesty's future honour and riches.—"

However, Sir Walter persisted in his certain assurance of the riches with which Guiana abounded; and also brought home some specimens of gold ore, each ton weight of which is reported to have yielded above 12,000 pounds of gold.

But the above-mentioned account was not sufficient to procure him the public concurrence in a second attempt, for the discovery of Guiana; some affected to treat many things in his narrative as fabulous, or at least uncertain; others alledged the hazard of sending a large fleet, well manned, into a climate so very unhealthy. But whatever might be the pretences of the statesmen of that age, this is certain, that envy was the chief cause why his proposals were at first postponed, and afterwards absolutely rejected.

All this, however, did not deter him from fitting out two ships at his own expence, namely, the Delight, and the Discoverer, which he sent under the command of captain Laurence Keymies, who had served in the former enterprize ; not only for him to make further discoveries, with regard to Guiana, and its gold mines, but in some measure to keep his word with the Indians, to whom he had promised, in the Queen's name, such assistance as might enable them to repel the Spaniards, who continually attempted rather to extirpate than subdue them.

This voyage Keymies performed with success ; and at his return to England, in June, he published such an account of his expedition, as might have converted any unprejudiced person to Sir Walter's opinion of Guiana.

Before the return of captain Keymies, Sir Walter was restored to favour at court, and appointed of the council of war to the earl of Essex and the Lord High-Admiral Howard, in the expedition undertaken that year against Cadiz, the success of which was entirely owing to his single advice, with regard to the time, manner, and disposition of the fleet for the attack ; which, with his other injuries done the Spaniards, under Queen Elisabeth's reign, made him so odious to that people, that they pursued him to the block.

This action of Sir Walter's may be accounted one of the most remarkable of his life, and therefore, so far as particularly relates to him, (a full account of it being already given in Admiral Howard's life), may merit our attention.

Sir Walter's plan for entering the harbour, and attacking the Spanish fleet first, and then storming the city of Cadiz, being agreed on, and both the generals leading the main body of the fleet, Sir Walter was ordered to command the van, which consisted of 7 men of war, and 12 hired ships from London, with 22 fly-boats. Accordingly, on the 22d of June, he weighed anchor on board the Warspright, and stood in towards the Spanish fleet. Sir Walter, as he advanced, received the fire of Fort Philip, also that from the curtain of the town, and 17 galleys which were ranged under the walls of the city ; to all which he answered with only a flourish of his trumpets, and intrepidly kept on, in order to encourage those who followed him to make all the haste possible, and engage those who passed him, while he attacked the body of the enemy. During the whole action, he kept closest to the enemy, and for the most part stood a-head of all ; and at last, after a long and desperate fight, in which his own ship was almost sunk, he, with the consent of the joint commanders, who promised to second him, prepared to board the Spanish admiral, namely, the St Philip, of 1500 tons : but his intention being perceived, the admiral run his ship ashore, and was followed by the other capital ships, two of which, the Matthew and Andrew, were saved by the English boats ; but the Philip and Thomas were either burnt by accident, or designedly left where they might fall into the hands of the English, who were merciful after obtaining victory ; but

but the Dutch, who did little or nothing in the fight, put all to the sword, till checked by the Lord Admiral Howard, and their cruelty restrained by Sir Walter Raleigh.

This action was the more remarkable, from the disproportion between the force of the English and Spaniards, only 7 ships of the former being opposed to 71 of the latter, which were all taken, sunk, or burnt. This defeat was soon followed by the surrender of Cadiz, which was performed more by durt of valour than conduct. But though most of the commanders by sea and land had been considerably rewarded for this day's service, with the plunder and ransoms given by several wealthy prisoners, Sir Walter Raleigh, who bore the heat of the engagement, as well as advised the conducting it, complains, " That he got naught by this victory, but a lame leg and a deformed body : for the rest, he either spoke too late, or it was otherwise resolved. He wanted not good words, yet had possession of naught but poverty and pain."

However, on his arrival at London, his gallant behaviour was highly approved of by the Queen, and as much applauded by her subjects. Yet not till the first of June was he restored to the exercise of his post, as captain of her Majesty's guard. This is said to have been brought about by secretary Cecil, on account of Sir Walter's good offices in reconciling him to the earl of Essex ; and that the Queen, who had been continually uneasy by their mutual animosities, received Sir Walter with great kindness, and admitted him as formerly to private conferences, and into her privy chamber.

Sir Walter, immediately after his return, again reflected on his favourite project, namely, the settling Guiana ; and accordingly dispatched another stout pinnace, called *the Watt*, freighted with every thing necessary, under the command of captain Leonard Berrie, who sailed in the latter end of December, and arrived safely there in March following : and after gaining further accounts of the state and riches of the higher country, and settling a friendly commerce with the natives, returned to Plymouth, on the 28th of June, just before Sir Walter embarked in her Majesty's service, on board the Warspright, as Rear-Admiral, in the expedition to the Islands, as it was called, under the command of the earl of Essex, in which he behaved to the satisfaction of the ministry ; but all his actions were mis-represented by the earl and his creatures. To gratify their pique, they had the officers broke who served gallantly under Raleigh, and he himself was censured at a court-martial, who would have taken his life, for storming and taking the town of Fayal, in the earl's absence, had not lord Howard brought them to more moderation. Thus matters were made up once more ; and though Essex still proceeded in his mistakes, by which he missed of the West-India fleet, Raleigh took some prizes that paid his men, and he gained both credit and money by the voyage. In their return home they took Faro, in the kingdom of Algara.

In the beginning of August, when the Queen fitted out, in a fortnight's time,

time, such a formidable fleet as alarmed her neighbours, Sir Walter was appointed Vice-admiral of it; which honour, though he enjoyed only for a month, the squadron having never weighed anchor, was a signal mark of her majesty's confidence; since at that time she was no less apprehensive of disturbances at home, than an invasion from abroad, which the Spaniards again threatened. But these fears being soon over, Sir Walter returned to court, to solicit the stile, title, and dignity of a baron.

About May 1600, Sir Walter, in conjunction with lord Cobham, between whom appeared of late, some slight breach of their long friendship, were sent to the camp of prince Maurice of Nassau in Flanders, with some private instructions to that general, which were not thought convenient to be entrusted to the English commissioners, at the treaty of Bologne: after a short stay there, and conferring with the prince, Sir Walter returned again home. In this commission he had acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of the Queen, and the great men at court, that about the 26th of August her Majesty preferred him, before Sir William Russel, to be governor of the Island of Jersey, with the reſerve of three hundred pounds a-year out of that government, to be disposed of as she thought proper. Besides this post, Sir Walter had a grant given him of the manor or lordship of St Germain, in the same island.

In the summer of the ensuing year, Raleigh attended the Queen in her progress through the kingdom; and on the arrival of the duke de Biron, as ambassador from France, he, by her Majesty's appointment, received his grace, and conferred with him on the subject of his embassy.

In the parliament which met the twenty-seventh of October, Sir Walter took his seat as knight of the shire for Cornwall, and very much distinguished himself in the important business of this last session of the Queen's reign,

Upon the demise of the Queen, on the 24th of March, Sir Walter was not without hopes of obtaining the favour of her successor, whose countenance he had sought by various presents, and other instances of respect he had sent into Scotland. He was not, however, ignorant what pains Essex had taken to prejudise the king against him, but hoped these would be buried in oblivion.

Upon the king's arrival at London, Raleigh had frequent access to him, and by that means an opportunity of shewing his desire and capacity of serving his Majesty; but he soon met with a cool reception, the reason of which he was not long at a loss to find out.

Sir Robert Cecil, who had been Raleigh's friend and associate, so long as they were both in danger from Essex, foreseeing, that if Raleigh ever came into the king's confidence, his administration would not be of any long continuance, drew such a character of him to that prince, as he thought would most disgust him; and, among other artful insinuations, he dwelt on these, namely, that he joined with lord Cobham, Sir John Fortescue, and others, to oblige his Majesty to articles, before he should

be admitted to the throne, and to limit the number of his countrymen; but more particularly, that Raleigh was a martial man, and would be continually forming projects to embarrass him with the neighbouring powers.

In return for this good office, Sir Walter did him another; for he drew up a memorial, in which he plainly shewed, that the affection of the Cecils to his Majesty was not voluntary, but the mere effect of force; that chiefly through the intrigues of one of that family, his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, lost her head; and that they never thought of promoting his succession, till they found it would take place whether they would or not.

This memorial was far from having the desired effect; for that timorous and jealous prince saw the power of Cecil, and thought he had need of it at that time, not thinking that it was the effect of his own favour, and thus he became dependent on him; which, together with his aversion to all martial enterprizes, made him disregard Sir Walter's proposals. Thus Raleigh saw himself, after all his pains, neglected and ill-treated at court, and deprived of the captainship of the guards; and this probably determined him to concert with some who were in the same situation, and his intimate acquaintance.

In the mean time some popish priests, and other discontented persons, had formed a plot against the king and royal family, by which they were to be seized, if not destroyed: with these Cobham had an intercourse, through his brother Mr Brooke. This treason being discovered, and traced to the last-mentioned person, a suspicion arose of Cobham; and, from his intimacy with Raleigh, some doubts also of the latter: upon which they were all apprehended. The priests, Watson and Clerk, were first tried and convicted, so was their associate Mr George Brooke: and the seventeenth of November, 1605, Sir Walter Raleigh (the plague raging then in London) was tried at Winchester, on the same account; and, by the influence of the court, and the bawling of the attorney-general Coke, convicted of high-treason, without the least colour of evidence.

But though the law made no distinction between Sir Walter Raleigh and the other conspirators, who were involved in this treason, yet the king made a great deal, and signed the warrants for the execution of all of them but him: on the other hand, he caused the two lords, Cobham and Grey, with Sir Griffin Markham, to be brought to the block, where he granted them a reprieve, in order to discover the truth of what Cobham had alledged against Raleigh, and what might be drawn by the fright of death from the other two. But all this produced nothing, and the king laid aside all thoughts of taking his life.

In December, Raleigh was remanded to the tower of London, and, upon the petition of his wife, was allowed the consolation of her company; and, by degrees, he obtained a grant of all the goods and chattels forfeited to his Majesty by Sir Walter's conviction, to be vested in trustees of his appointing, for the benefit of his creditors, his lady and child;

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and in a little time after, by the King's courtesy, his estate was also restored him. And now matters began to wear a favourable face, and he had hopes of recovering the condition from which he had fallen. In that, however, he found himself mistaken; for this inclination in his Majesty towards mercy, put his enemies on another project for ruining his affairs; and perceiving that they had not interest sufficient in the king to get Raleigh's estate for themselves, they prompted the new court favourite, Robert Carr, afterwards so well known by the title of earl of Somerset, who was without any fortune of his own, to petition the king for Sherborne manor. The latter discovered a flaw in the conveyance of Raleigh's estate to his son, which being prior to the attainder, gave the crown a title paramount to that which was understood to be therein, when the forfeiture had been granted back to Sir Walter. Upon which an information was exhibited in the court of exchequer, by the attorney-general Hobart, to which Raleigh put in his answer, wherein the said grant was set forth to be made over to his son; yet, for want of a single word (found notwithstanding in the paper-book, and only the oversight of a clerk) it was adjudged invalid, and judgment given for the crown; and the effect of it turned to the benefit of the favourite, who, in 1609, had a complete grant of all that Sir Walter had forfeited. On this occasion Sir Walter wrote an excellent letter to this favourite, in which he states the hardship of his own case, without any bitterness; expostulated freely, yet inoffensively, with him about the wrong that was done him; and entreated the favourite's compassion, without any unbecoming condescension.

This, however, had so little effect on Carr, and even all the other applications made to the king himself, that he was stripped, not only of Sherborne, but of all his other estates, purchased with his own money, which the king gave to Carr, his minion, though prince Henry did all in his power to prevent it; and having entreated Sherborne of his father, restored it to Sir Walter: but upon the prince's death, which happened in a few months after, Carr had a grant of it again from the king. But this very Carr, after he had been created earl of Somerset, being convicted of poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, was himself executed; and Sir Walter, presently upon his removal from the king's ear, obtained his enlargement from the tower, the twenty-fifth of March, 1616, but could not recover his estate of Sherborne, which, on Somerset's attainder, was granted to Sir John Digby, afterwards earl of Bristol.

Sir Walter spent a great part of his confinement, in writing that noble monument of his genius and learning, *The history of the world*. He also devoted a part of his time to useful chemistry, in which he was so successful as to discover that noble medicine in malignant fevers, which bears the name of his cordial, though it is doubtful whether the true receipt of it be preserved or not. Besides these, he turned his thoughts on many other subjects, all beneficial to mankind: of these treatises, many are printed; some are still in manuscript; and not a few are lost.

The patron of his studies was prince Henry, after whose demise Sir Walter chiefly depended on the Queen, in whom he found a steady protectress while Somerset's power lasted; who, by an intemperate use of his authority, had rendered himself obnoxious to the law, as has been shewn above.

Raleigh, now at liberty, but very much reduced in his fortune, thought to mend it by pursuing his old scheme, namely, the discovery of Guiana and its gold mines; and for that end obtained his liberty, on condition he should hazard another voyage thither.

For defraying the expence of the expedition, he vested his whole fortune in it, and even prevailed on his wife to sell her estate at Mitcham for promoting this design, besides interesting all his friends in the issue of it. His whole fleet consisted of thirteen sail, besides the admiral, built by himself, and called *the Destiny*, of four hundred and forty tons, and thirty-six pieces of cannon, on board of which were the general himself, and his son Walter, captain, besides two hundred men, of which eighty were gentlemen volunteers and adventurers, most of them Sir Walter's relations; which number was afterwards increased.

It was July before Sir Walter left Plymouth with his whole fleet; after which, by stress of weather, he was forced to put into Cork, where he remained till the nineteenth of August. On the sixth of September he made the Canaries, where he obtained some refreshments, and an ample certificate from the governor, of his equitable behaviour. Thence he proceeded to Guiana, and on the seventeenth of November, arrived off the river Caliana, in 5° , and in sight of that country, where he continued till the fourth of December.

The Indians received him with the utmost joy, and not only assisted him with provisions, and every thing else in their power, but offered him the sovereignty of the country, if he would settle among them; which, however, he refused.

Here Sir Walter was so sickly, that he could not, in person, undertake the discovery of the mine, but was obliged to commit that important service to captain Keymies's management; who, with five ships, and fifty men on board each, departing from the rest of Raleigh's fleet, sailed up the river Oronoque, where, on the main channel of it, they found a new-built Spanish town, named San Thome, consisting of one hundred and forty eight houses, a chapel and convent of Franciscans, defended by a garrison.

Near this spot Keymies had instructions to search for the gold mine. Accordingly, landing in one body, he encamped between the mine and the town by night. But the Spanish troops being apprized of their coming, fell upon them before day-break, and put them into such confusion, that Keymies's men had been all cut to pieces, had not the officers rallied them, and led them on so vigorously, that they obliged the Spaniards to fly, and pursued them into the town of San Thome; where the governor, with his body of reserve, renewed the fight, in which cap-

main Raleigh, Sir Walter's son, was slain, in the twenty-third year of his age.

However, victory declared for the English; and after the governor and all his officers were killed, many of the common men fled to the woods; others of them rallying in the market place, did us some mischief, and obliged our men to get from thence, after first setting fire to the town. But the Spaniards had so many ambuscades on the road for covering the mines, that Keymies lost two of his men, and had six more wounded in the attempt. Whereupon, finding it impracticable with his force to carry his point, through unpassable woods lined with musqueteers, he returned to Punta de Gallo, without discovering the mine.

Yet, as an alleviation of this bad fortune, and an encouragement to future attempts, Keymies brought with him two ingots of gold, reserved at San Thome as the king of Spain's quinto, or proportion, as also other spoils of value, belonging to the governor, and a large bundle of memorials, plans, and maps, found in the governor's study; and among these, four letters, which plainly discovered that Sir Walter's whole project had been betrayed, and his life put into the power of the Spaniards.

Upon discovering this treachery, Sir Walter could not help complaining; so that at Keymies's return, without making trial of the mine, he cried out, that he was undone, and his credit with the king irrecoverably wounded: which reproach of his commander, so affected Keymies, that he withdrew into his cabin, and first shot himself with a pistol, and afterwards, the wound not proving mortal, he thrust a long knife after the ball. A more particular account of this may be seen in Sir Walter's letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, the conclusion of which runs pathetically thus; 'What shall become of me, I know not; I am unpardoned in England, and my poor estate consumed; and whether any prince will give me bread or no, I know not.'

The news of the burning San Thome, and Sir Walter's disappointment, were brought to England long before his return; on which the Spanish ambassador, count Gundamor, demanded satisfaction. And accordingly the king issued, on the eleventh of June, a proclamation, declaring his disapprobation of Sir Walter's conduct.

On Sir Walter's arrival at Plymouth, Sir Lewis Stuckley, Vice-admiral of Devon, and his own kinsman, by order of the privy-council, arrested him on the road to London.

This disingenuous procedure convinced Sir Walter, that he must either contrive his escape, or fall a sacrifice to the king and his ministers, now entirely in the Spanish interest. Wherefore, laying aside his resolution of surrendering himself into the king's hands, as he had determined at his first landing in the west, he formed a design of making his escape into France, but not without the privity, and, some say, by the advice of Stuckley; who afterwards basely discovered it, and had him seized in the attempt, as he fled in a boat below Woolwich; and was carried a second time, namely, on the tenth of August, to the tower.

Though

Though this great man's death was now a point settled, chiefly through the intrigues of the Spanish ambassador, count Gundamor, the court were extremely puzzled to find a plausible pretext for satisfying the generality of the nation that it was justifiable to take away his life, since his conduct in his late expedition could not, in law, be stretched to so severe a sentence. It therefore was resolved to sacrifice him to Spain, in a manner which has justly exposed the actors in this tragedy to the abhorrence of all succeeding ages; for they called him down to judgment, upon his sentence passed fifteen years before, which at that time they either scrupled, or were ashamed to execute. This they did with peculiar circumstances of brutality; for he was taken out of his bed, in a hot fit of the ague, and on the twenty-eighth of October carried to the bar of the King's-bench in Westminster, where Sir Henry Montague, the chief justice, ordered the record of his conviction to be read; after which he demanded what he had to offer, why execution should not be awarded? To this Sir Walter pleaded his Majesty's commission for his late voyage, as a virtual pardon of all that had been charged against him previous to it; and next offered to justify his conduct in Guiana: but the court refused to hear him, so that execution was awarded. The dead-warrant came down the same day, signed at Westminster, though the king had retired from thence into the country, to avoid petitions in his favour; and this raised a suspicion, that the king had signed the warrant for his execution before justice had been given in the King's-bench. As the manner of bringing Sir Walter to his end was unjust, so it was also hasty and inhuman: for he was denied the least respite, though he earnestly requested it. The very next day, being Thursday the twenty-ninth of October, and the lord mayor's day, Sir Walter was brought by the sheriff of Middlesex, to suffer in Old Palace-yard.

His behaviour under these unhappy circumstances, recommended him still more to the unprejudiced part of mankind. He was so far from being daunted at the approach of death, that the dean of Westminster, who assisted him in his last moments, tells us, that he blessed God for it; and that he had rather die by the ax, than in a burning fever. And after giving his hat, cap, and money, to one of his attendants, he said to the lords and gentlemen about him, "I have a long journey to go, "and therefore will take leave." Having stripped off his gown and doublet, he called to the executioner to shew him the ax; and finding him seemingly unwilling, he added, "I pr'ythee let me see it; dost "think I am afraid of it?" Then taking it into his hand, and feeling the edge of it, he said with a smile to the sheriff, "This is a sharp me- "dicine; but it is a physician for all deseases." His head was struck off at two blows, but his body never moved. And after shewing it on each side the scaffold, the sheriff delivered it with his body to his relations, who buried the trunk in the chancel of St Margaret, Westminster: but his widow kept his head in a case by her for twenty-nine years; nor was it

it buried till it was put into the coffin of his son Carew, who died in the sixty-first year of his age.

Such was the end of our illustrious hero, when he had lived sixty-three years. After having been thus particular, even to minuteness, in the detail of the life of this great man, it will be less necessary to dwell long on his character; in order to form a right idea of which, we must attentively consider both his actions and writings. He appeared in very different capacities, and excelled in all. He distinguished himself as a soldier by his courage, by his conduct as a commander; he was a bold sailor, a hearty friend to seamen, and yet no admiral maintained better discipline; a wise statesman, a profound scholar, a learned, and withal a practical philosopher. In private life he was a beneficent master, a kind husband, an affectionate father: and in social life he was a warm friend, a pleasant companion, and a fine gentleman. In a word, as no man of his age did things more worthy to be recorded, so no man was more able to record them than himself.

During a life of such perpetual and unremitting activity, spent almost wholly in the camp or the court, Sir Walter, notwithstanding, found leisure to cultivate the Muses, those lovers of retirement and ease. For he wrote many treatises †, in the poetical, epistolary, military, geographical, political, philosophical, and historical way; the number, as well as value of which, is so great, that, considering his continual avocations, it becomes matter of wonder, how he could find time to collect so much force of mind and attention, as was necessary, to write them. But the wonder ceases, when we know the division he made of the day; four hours of which, he allowed to sleep; and for the rest, he dedicated four hours to reading and study; two to discourse; and the remainder to business, and other necessaries. He had an excellent library, which was of use sometimes to Mr Selden, and others of the society of Antiquaries, of which he was a member.

† See a particular catalogue of tannica, Note at the end of the article his writings, in the Biographia Bri- Ralegh.

Sir ROBERT DUDLEY.

SIR Robert Dudley, as he was called here, and, as he was styled a broad, the earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland, had a piercing genius for great exploits, and a particular turn to navigation and discoveries. Accordingly he resolved, soon after he was of age, to make a voyage into the South Seas at his own expence; but after a great deal of pains taken, and money spent, the government would not suffer him to proceed, looking upon it as a dangerous voyage, in which they thought it not fit to hazard the lives of the Queen's subjects.

This, however, did not satisfy his desire of going to sea, and therefore he fitted out a small squadron for the river Oronoque, and the neighbouring coasts, of which he took the command in person. Accordingly he sailed from Southampton, the sixth of November, with four ships under his command, and proceeded, in the Bear of two hundred tons, for the coast of Spain, where he lost the company of the other three ships. In the mean time capt. Monk, in the Bear's Whelp, returned with his vessel and two prizes before the end of the year; of which Mr Dudley having no knowledge, waited for him near the Azores; but hearing no news, and finding many of his men sick, he thought it more adviseable to proceed in his undertaking as soon as possible.

Accordingly, having taken two prizes, he put capt. Benjamin Wood into the one, called *the Intent*, and capt. Wentworth into the other; so that having now three sail under his command, he made the best of his way for the island of Trinidad in the West Indies. On his arrival there, he detached the Intent and her consort to the Leeward Islands, and with his own vessel laboured to make what discovery he could of the great empire of Guiana; the writings and example of Sir Walter Raleigh having been no small motives to this enterprize. All the accounts given by him of the countries, rivers and people, as also of the reports that prevailed among them, of very rich countries that lay further within land, perfectly agree with the relations of that learned knight.

Mr Dudley had heard, as well as he, of silver and gold mines, particularly one of the latter at Wakkaru, and he also obtained some specimens of gold from another place. He was in expectation of Sir Walter's coming hither, and in hopes of making very considerable discoveries together, which induced him to stay as long as it was safe for him to do, and then he returned to Europe, having barely as much provisions left as would serve for his voyage. He returned to St Ives in Cornwall, about the end of May, having, with his small strength, taken,

taken, sunk, and otherwise destroyed, nine sail of Spanish ships; one of which was a Spanish ship of war of six hundred tons, which he fought board and board for two days, till he had no power left, and she afterwards sunk at sea.

After gaining, by this expedition, experience sufficient to qualify him for a sea commander, he went with the earl of Essex, and the lord high admiral Howard, to Cadiz, as captain of the Nonpareil, and in that warm service shewed all the courage of an adventurous young man, and all the conduct of an experienced old officer; and for his gallant behaviour received the honour of knighthood from the hands of the former noble peer.

In the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Sir Robert Dudley being a widower, married Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, and settled upon her, in jointure, great part of his estate; and gaining by this marriage some powerful friends, began to entertain hopes of reviving the honours of his family. He considered with himself, that it was not yet too late to make proof of the legitimacy of his birth, by which he would become clearly entitled to the honour of lord l'Isle and earl of Leicester, as heir to his father; as also to the earldom of Warwick, by virtue of the limitations in his uncle's patent; as also to the castle of Warwick, and several fair manors, by virtue of the entail. Full of these hopes, he commenced a suit in the court of audience, belonging to the archbishop of Canterbury; and the plague being then in London, obtained a commission, directed to Dr Babington chaneellor of Litchfield, to examine witnesses on that head: but no sooner had Lettice, countess of Leicester, notice of these proceedings, than she procured an information to be filed by Sir Edward Coke, the King's attorney-general, in the Star-chamber, against Sir Robert Dudley, Sir Thomas Leigh, Dr Babington and others, for a conspiracy; and, upon the petition of the lord Sidney, an order issued out of that court for bringing in all the depositions taken by virtue of the archbishop's commission, and sealing them up in the council-chest. In order, however, to keep up some appearance of impartiality, Sir Robert Dudley was allowed to examine witnesses, in proof of his legitimacy; which when he had done in that court, as fully as could be desired, a sudden order was made for staying all procedure, and locking up the depositions, of which no copies were to be taken but by the King's licence. This was such a blow to all Sir Robert's hopes, that he resolved to retire abroad; in order to this, he applied for a licence to travel for three years, which was very readily granted him. But the maner of his leaving the kingdom shewed that he inherited some of the vices, as well as most of the great qualities of his family. For no sooner had he settled his resolution of quitting England, than he resolved to make the place of his retreat as agreeable to him as possible, and therefore prevailed on a young lady, viz. Miss Elizabeth Southwell, the daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, of Woodrising in Northfolk, at that time esteemed

one of the finest women in England, to bear him company in the habit of his page, whom he afterwards espoused, by virtue of a dispensation from the pope. He had not been long abroad before his enemies procured, notwithstanding his licence, a privy seal, commanding his return into England, being very sensible that he would not obey it; for Sir Robert finding himself well received at the court of Florence, resolved to continue there, notwithstanding the letter of recall; and this gave a handle for seizing his whole estate, which was vested in the crown during his natural life, by the statute of fugitives. In this situation things continued for some years, till some persons about Henry prince of Wales suggested to him, that Kenelworth castle was one of the finest places in the inland parts of the kingdom, and very fit for his royal Highness's residence; upon which some overtures were made to Sir Robert aboard, as well as to the lady Alice at home, the prince desiring to have it by way of purchase. These proposals were very readily accepted. In the mean time a commission was issued for enquiring into the value of this estate. The treaty came at last to a conclusion, and deeds were executed, by which, in consideration of fourteen thousand five hundred pounds, to be paid in one year to the faid Sir Robert Dudley, or his assigns, the said castle, with several manors, were settled upon the prince and his heirs, with condition that Sir Robert should hold the constableship of the faid castle for the term of his natural life, by patent from his royal Highness. Of this purchase-money but three thousand pounds were ever paid, and that to a merchant who broke soon after, not one penny coming to the hands of Sir Robert. Prince Henry likewise dying, his title to the castle and lands descended to his brother Charles prince of Wales.

But though Sir Robert Dudley lived in exile, and without receiving any considerable supplies from England, he still entertained some hopes of his return; for facilitating which, and ingratiating himself with King James I. he drew up a scheme for improving the royal revenue; which scheme falling into the hands of some persons of great distinction, *viz.* the earls of Bedford, Somerset and Clare; Sir Robert Cotton bart. John Selden, and Oliver St John, esqrs, and by them made public, they were imprisoned; but, upon a discovery of the true author, they were shortly after released. Though neither King James I. nor King Charles I. or their ministers, ever made use of it, or ever intended it, yet it was turned to their prejudice. The account of this matter we have as follows, in Foulis's history of plots. "It is not unworthy the notice, by what artifices they, that is the patriots, in 1618, did really endeavour to make the King odious to his subjects, of which I shall only touch on one grand imposture, sowed about by many of these chief ring-leading members. And this was of a paper by them carefully and plentifully spread abroad, to discover the imperiousness of parliaments; and how, by the subjects puries, to keep the nation in a good defence against the King's enemies. And this

" this was suggested, that the King had not only such a design on
" foot, but by him, or his means, this plot first took birth: whereas
" it was discovered by Sir David Foulis, that this paper was contrived
" several years before, *viz.* about 1613, by Sir Robert Dudley, then
" living at Florence, under the title of duke of Northumberland. By
" which means it seems some men would not leave any stone unturn-
" ed, rather than fail of their intended ends. Nor can I acquit him
" from the same ignorance and malice, who long after published it
" under the name of Stafford's plot discovered, &c."

Florence, as has been said, was the place which Sir Robert Dudley chose for his retreat, where he was kindly received by Cosmo II. great duke of Tuscany, and in process of time made great chamberlain to his serene Highness's consort, the archduchess Magdalen of Austria, and sister to the emperor Ferdinand II. with whom he was a great favourite. While in that court, he contrived several methods for improving shipping, introduced new manufactures, excited the merchants to extend their foreign commerce, and by other services obtained so high a reputation, that the emperor Ferdinand before-mentioned, by his letters patent the ninth of March, created him a duke of the holy Roman empire; upon which he assumed his grandfather's title of Northumberland, and ten years after he got himself enrolled by pope Urban VIII. among the Roman nobility. Under the reign of the great duke Ferdinand II. he became still more famous, on account of the project he formed of draining a vast tract of marshes between Pisa and the sea, and raising Leghorn, which was then a mean place, into a large and beautiful town, improving the haven by a mole; and having engaged his serene Highness to declare it a free port, he, by his influence and correspondences, drew several English merchants to settle and build houses there, which was a matter of great importance to our Italian trade.

By a happy application of his great talents, Sir Robert made himself also much admired by the learned, to whom he was a generous and constant patron, and at the same time held a very high post himself in the republic of letters, as well on account of his skill in philosophy, chemistry, and physic, as his perfect acquaintance with all the branches of the mathematics, and the means of applying them to the use and benefit of mankind; of all which he has given abundant proofs in his excellent writings. But that by which he is chiefly known to the learned world, is the following, *Del arcano del mare, &c. Florenze 1630, 1646,* in two volumes folio. This work has been always so scarce, as seldom to have found a place even in the catalogues published of rare books. It is full of schemes, charts, plans, and other marks of its author's mathematical learning; but is chiefly valuable on account of the projects therein contained for the improvement of navigation, and the extending of commerce. Capable judges will make allowance for the time in which it was wrote; and in that point of view it will appear truly admirable, as the author hints at several things which in those days

were totally unknown, and of which he appears to have formed a right judgment. In it are also many things which have not yet been executed, and might turn to the advantage of any maritime power that would be at the expence of prosecuting his designs. He also wrote a physical treatise, entitled *Catholicon*, which was well esteemed by the faculty; and was the author of a very famous powder, called *the earl of Warwick's powder*. Among many other inventions, which we have not room here to mention, it may not be amiss to add, that he is believed to be the first who broke setting dogs.

In acknowledgment of his merit, and for the support of his dignity, the Grand Duke bestowed on him a pension of two thousand sequins *per annum*, which, however, went but a little way in defraying his expences; for he affected magnificence in every thing, built a noble palace at Florence, and adorned the castle of Carbello, three miles from that capital, which the Grand Duke had given him for a country retreat, where he breathed his last in September 1649, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Sir RICHARD HAWKINS.

SIR Richard Hawkins was the son of the famous Sir John Hawkins, himself a gallant and experienced officer in the royal navy. He was born at Plymouth, but in what year is uncertain. From his own writings we collect that he was by the first venter, and he speaks of his mother in-law in terms of great commendation. We are as much to seek with regard to the place and manner of his education; but no doubt can be made, considering his father's character and his own merit, that he had all proper care taken in bringing him up. And it is no less probable, that he betook himself early to the sea-service; and having so many bright examples in his own family, followed them with equal care and spirit. He was also of a remarkably grave turn, and very much given to reflect on the principal events which happened in his time at sea, in order to regulate his own conduct, and supply his want of experience: and he succeeded so well in his plan; that we find, that when he was but very young, he had the command of a vessel, which was vice-admiral of a small squadron, under his uncle William Hawkins, esq; of Plymouth, which was employed in much such another private expedition to the West-Indies, as capt. John Hawkins, when so treacherously used by the Spaniards.

On this occasion our young seaman gave a very extraordinary proof of his integrity and valour, which raised his character highly, and not a little

a little contributed to his preferment when he came home. Among the vessels of which this private squadron consisted, one called *the bark Bonner*, while cruising off the west end of the island of Porto Rico, became somewhat leaky, upon which the captain of her complained it was impossible for him to proceed in her for England. This matter being brought before their council, it was decided according to the captain's desire, and a resolution taken, that after removing the stores, provisions, and men out of her, the hull should be either burnt or sunk. Our young captain, who had been silent till judgment was given, interposed at length to prevent execution, from a notion that the captain, being desirous of getting into a ship that sailed better, had represented the state of his ship worse than really it was. Whereupon he suggested to his uncle, that if he was so pleased, that he would collect out of his own, and the rest of the ships, a sufficient number of men to go home with him in that bark, which should be stiled *the vice-admiral*; on condition, however, that if they navigated the bark home safely, the crew should be intitled to one fourth part of her clear value, by way of salvage. His uncle proposed, that he and the principal officers should go on board the ship in question, and there determine the point. But the captain of the Bonner no sooner heard this proposal, than he made answer, that if any man should carry her to England he could, with the crew which were then in her; and this he did without any risk in the passage. His uncle thanked him on this occasion, and the proprietors, no doubt, were pleased with the conduct of a young man, whose steadiness saved them so much money as this bark was worth.

In the ever memorable year 1588, he commanded one of her Majesty's ships, *viz.* the Swallow, of three hundred and thirty tons, and one hundred and sixty men, which suffered the most of any in the action against the Spanish armada, from a fire arrow, which being hid in the sail, had burnt a hole in her beak-head, and was not discovered till the arrow fell out, and was seen floating by the ship's side. In the account he himself gives, in which he relates things to be met with no where else, he takes occasion to do justice to the characters of others, without saying a word of what he performed himself; though it is highly probable he was not the least active, as his ship suffered most, in procuring and pursuing that glorious victory, his observations on which give us an equal proof of his modesty and penetration. The justice he does the lord high admiral, cannot be better represented than in his own words. "Fabius Maximus, the famous Roman," says he, "endured the attribute of coward, with many other infamies, rather than he would hazard the safety of his country by rash and uncertain provocations. In which respect, no less worthy of perpetual memory was the prudent policy and government of our English navy in 1588, by the worthy earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral of England, who, in like case, with mature

" and

" and experienced knowledge, patiently withstood the instigations of
 " many courageous and noble captains, who would have persuaded
 " him to have laid them aboard. But well he foresaw that the enemy
 " had an army aboard, and he none; that they exceeded him in num-
 " ber of shipping, and those greater in bulk, stronger built, and
 " higher moulded: so that they who with such advantage fought
 " from above, might easily distress all opposition below, the slaughter,
 " peradventure, proving more fatal than the victory profitable. By
 " being overthrown he might have hazarded the kingdom, whereas
 " by the conquest (at most) he could have boasted of nothing but
 " glory and an enemy defeated. But by sufferance he always advan-
 " taged himself of wind and tide, which was the freedom of our
 " country, and security of our navy, with the destruction of theirs,
 " which in the eye of the ignorant (who judge all things by the ex-
 " ternal appearance) seemed invincible; but truly considered, was
 " much inferior to others in all things of substance, as the event pro-
 " ved: for we sunk, spoiled, and took of them many, and they di-
 " minished of ours but one small pinnace, nor any man of name, save
 " only captain William Cocke, who died with honour amidst his com-
 " pany."

It is a remark of Sir Richard's in which he is singular, that fire-ships were not invented by the English, but copied from the Spaniards, who first employed them against his father Sir John in the bay of Mexico; and the same practice was repeated upon their armada, for which purpose six or seven vessels were prepared, and of these, two belonged to captain Richard Hawkins himself. The thing indeed speaks for itself, since the account of his father's voyage, and in it this attempt of the Spaniards to burn his ships, was actually published before the invasion of 1588.

When Sir Richard's father went with Sir Martin Forbisher to the coasts of Spain, he commanded her majesty's ship the Crane of two hundred tons, was very active in pursuing the Spanish squadron em-
 ployed in carrying relief to their forces in Brittany, and in cruizing near the Azores, where though they did not take a single ship, yet we are assured, by a foreign writer of great veracity, namely Landschooten, who was then in the island, that they so much interrupted the trade, and caused such distraction to the Spanish settlements, that the people openly cursed the ministers, who had advised the crown of Spain to a war with England. In this voyage, which was of some continuance, though of no considerable action, captain Richard Hawkins added largely to that stock of useful knowledge which he took every occasion to collect.

According to his own account, being becalmed a great part of the time, he observed, that the sea for want of motion became full of se-
 veral sorts of jellies, which resembled serpents, adders, and snakes, some green, some black, some yellow, and some speckled, of a yard and a half,

half, and two yards in length : for the truth of which, he appeals to the crews of those ships which composed this squadron ; further adding, that they found it difficult to draw up so much as a bucket of water without having some of this corrupted matter in it. And to this malignancy of the air and season, he attributes that sickness which proved so fatal to many of their ships crews.

At his return he began to think seriously of a voyage he had long before meditated, and for which he had built a new ship of between three and four hundred tons ; to which his mother-in-law having given the name of *the Repentance*, it distasted him so much, that he sold her to his father. But this ship having been afterwards employed successfully in the Queen's service, and by her Majesty named *the Dainty*, our young hero re-purchased her of his father, and resumed his first intention of making a grand voyage in her for making discoveries. The project of this expedition, which was concerted with the advice of his father, and had the approbation of her Majesty, and the privy-council, was of a vast extent : for he proposed visiting the islands of Japan, as well as the Moluccas and Philippines, taking in his course the Streights of Magellan, and intending to return by the cape of Good Hope. The universal esteem which his father had acquired, and the great respect shewn himself, induced all who were in power to give him all possible assistance ; and as soon as the wind came fair, he directed the Dainty to fall down to Gravesend on the 8th of April 1593.

In her passage she narrowly escaped shipwreck, by leaving her ports open. This danger got over, they prosecuted their voyage to Plymouth, where his small squadron was to be formed, and entered that harbour on the 26th. The other two vessels were also his own, but small, the one called *the Hawk*, and the other a pinnace, to which he gave the name of *the Fancy*. It was towards the close of May, before he could get every thing ready to put to sea. At the very time his three ships, which riding in the Sound, were going to weigh, they were surprised by a sudden storm, in which the Dainty sprung her main-mast, and the Fancy driving on the rocks, went to the bottom while he was ashore, a sad spectator of this disaster. But notwithstanding this second accident, he put all things to rights again in the space of ten days ; and though the tender entreaties of his wife had once brought him to hesitate, yet, as he himself expresses it, considering how many eyes were upon his ball, and having himself opened it, he resolved to dance on, though he should only hope at last. Accordingly, on the 12th of June, he left Plymouth Sound, and before the end of that month arrived at the Madeiras ; the 3d of July he passed the Canaries, and soon after the islands of Cape de Verde, without any thing remarkable ; but, upon approaching the coasts of Brazil, the scurvy began to rage among his ship's crew ; which gave Sir Richard an opportunity of examining and making juster reflections on that disease than any then extant.

The sea-scurvy, which Sir Richard takes to be a kind of dropsy, he remarks is apt enough to invade seamen in all places, when they have been long on board, but has a kind of peculiar malignancy, a little south of the equator, as appeared from its infecting the whole crew in a few days. The chief symptoms he observed, were want of appetite, with a great drought, swelling in all parts of the body, especially the gums and legs; but, above all, what he styles a loathsome laziness, and perpetual inclination to rest and sleep, even though the patient were convinced nothing could do him more hurt. He assigns various causes: first, the change of the climate, which consequently produces no small alteration in the constitution; next, bad food, all salt meats containing a certain degree of corruption which is rather kept from spreading, than altogether prevented by the pickle; and, lastly, a bad temperament in the air, arising from the calms frequent in those parts; whence proceed a stagnation and putrid quality in all fluids. Upon these principles he accounts for the prevalence of this distemper among English seamen more than those of any other nation; namely, because coming from a temperate climate, used to eat plentifully of wholesome provisions, and enjoying a pure air, they are attacked at once by those contrarieties which are most likely to debilitate the stomach, and disturb the whole human frame. He thinks that boiling meat in sea-water, being often wet with it, and eating mouldy bread, encrease the symptoms, and heighten the infection. He therefore prescribes, as the best remedies, keeping the ship as clean as possible, sprinkling it with vinegar, smoaking it with tar, feeding as little as possible on salt meats, especially salt fish, being very cleanly, and washing and shifting as often as possible: he mentions it as a great secret, which he himself practised with much success, namely, to keep the men in action by exercising their arms, moving things from place to place, and when they have any leisure, spending it in feats of agility, or diversions that keep their limbs in motion. At the changing of every watch, he recommends the giving to every man a bit of bread, and a draught of wine and water mixed. He also praises Dr Stephens's water, and a few drops of oil of vitriol dissolved in a convenient quantity of water. But beyond these, and what exceeds all other helps, is the suffering the men to land frequently, and to procure them oranges, lemons, and other acid fruits. He concludes with wishing that some able physician would make this disease his study, that its true causes might be known, and still more effectual remedies found out; "which," says he, "would be a work most beneficial to the people of this country, since in the twenty years which I have used the sea, I have known above ten thousand men die of this disease."

The raging of this terrible distemper obliged him to put into a port of Brazil for refreshment; where he wrote a letter in Latin to the governor, informing him, that he was an English ship bound to the East-Indies, and driven thither by contrary winds, desiring leave to purchase refreshments

refreshments for money ; at the same time, sending him a piece of crimson velvet, some fine holland, and other things, as a present. The governor was slow in sending an answer, in which he told captain Hawkins, that a war subsisting at that time between the two crowns, the strictness of his instructions put it out of his power to grant his request ; but in regard of the polite manner in which he made it, he gave him three days time to depart : but before this answer came, the captain having got a supply of oranges and other fruit, he weighed with the first fair wind, and proceeded to the island of St Anne, 20° 30' south latitude, where his squadron arrived safe the 5th of November. There, causing all the provisions to be taken out of the Hawk, he burnt her, and the 10th of December sailed for Cape Frio with only six men sick ; and after taking in water and provisions there, and the neighbouring islands, he sailed on the 18th for the Streights of Magellan, and in his passage thither took a Portuguese ship ; but as it belonged to an old knight, who was going governor of Angola, and had lodged his all in that vessel and cargo, the captain contented himself with disarming fifty soldiers on board, and let him proceed on his voyage. In the latitude of the river of Plata, and about fifty leagues from land, they had some foul weather, which, though it exposed them to no great danger, gave an opportunity to Robert Tharlton, commander of the Fancy, to persuade those on board that pinnace, to desert their general in the Dainty, and return home.

The captain of the vessel had in a former voyage, and in the very same place, deserted captain Thomas Cavendish, by which he ruined his voyage and broke his heart.

Captain Hawkins assures us, that all the misfortunes he afterwards suffered were owing to this accident ; for had the Fancy continued with him, he might have availed himself of the provisions, medicines, and refreshments on board that pinnace ; and though the men on board were but few, yet even with those he could have taken the Spanish vice-admiral, and have cleared himself of the engagement, where he was taken prisoner. He then gives us the following facts, which we have therefore copied in his own words : " These desertions and escapes," says he, " are only to pilfer and steal, as well as by taking of some prize " when they are alone, and without command, to hinder or order " their bad proceedings, to appropriate that which is in their entrusted " ship, casting the fault, if they be called to account, upon some poor " and unknown mariners, whom they suffer with a little pillage to ab- " sent themselves, the more cunningly to colour their greatest disor- " ders and robberies : for doubtless Robert Tharlton in the Fancy, if " he would, might have come unto us with great facility, because " within sixteen hours the storm ceased, and the wind came fair, which " brought us to the Streights, and endured many days after with us at " north-east. This was good for them, though naught for us : if he " had perished any mast or yard, sprung any leak, wanted victuals or

" instruments for finding us, or had had any other impediment of importance, he might have had some colour to cloak his leudness; but his masts and yards being found, his ship staunch, and laden with victuals for two years at the least, and having order from place to place where to find us, his intention is easily seen to be bad, or his fault such as worthily deserved to be made exemplary to others. Which he manifested at his return by his manner of proceeding, making a spoil of the prize he took in the way homewards, as also of that which was in the ship, putting it into a port fit for his purpose, where he might have time and commodity to do what he would." He looks upon this breach of duty and honour as the peculiar scandal of the English; "because," continues he, "those who are injured, either dying through grief, or falling into extreme poverty, are seldom able to prosecute such offences, which procured impunity, and tempts others to follow such a bad example; whereas as in Spain, the King's attorney-general takes notice of all such offences of course, and upon his suit the perpetrators of them are very severely punished;" and to this only he attributes all their success. "In all other things," says he, "we are at least their equals; in many, much their superiors."

Captain Hawkins sailing along the coast of Pentagonia in 48° lat. he gave names to several places, and particularly bestowed on that whole country, which to him appeared promising, and in a very temperate climate, the title of *Hawkins' maiden land*, because discovered at his expence, and in the reign of a maiden Queen. The 10th of February 1594 they had the Streights of Magellan open in 52° , $15'$ lat. and passing through them came into the South Sea the 29th of March. The description of his passage is the best any where extant, and interspersed with ingenious and instructive reflections. He observes, that notwithstanding the received opinion at that time, that the Streights are navigable throughout the year, he says, that the true season for passing them is in November, December, or January, when the wind is steady and favourable; whereas it is very inconstant, in all narrow seas, during the other months. The 19th of April they anchored under the island of Mocha, where they run a great risk of suffering from the Arawcans, a nation of the Indians equally famous for their subtillity and courage, notwithstanding all the precautions to guard against them. Proceeding from thence along the coasts of Chili, they met with a storm in the Pacific Ocean, which lasted ten days. And this was succeeded by very warm disputes among themselves. Captain Hawkins was for continuing his voyage, without making any prizes, till they were above Callao, which is the port of Lima, because then they might be sure to keep whatever they got, and the Spaniards could hardly fit out a squadron strong enough to take them in those seas, or to pursue them in their long voyage to the Philippines. On the other hand, the mariners, who knew they had a right to make prizes, and imagined that every

ship

ship which went to sea in that country, was laden with gold, were for losing no time, but taking every thing they could. The captain finding it in vain to reason with them, was forced, contrary to his own sentiments, to comply. In consequence of this resolution, they took a few days afterwards four ships in the harbour of Valparaiso, and soon after a fifth, in which they found plenty of provisions, but very little gold; and even the ransoms were inconsiderable. But this treasure, small as it was, raised disputes; for the seamen immediately demanded their second. The captain by no means disputed this; but endeavoured to shew them the bad effects this must be attended with, in regard to themselves; since it could only serve to game with, and create quarrels. These reasons at first rendered them angry and obstinate; but at length they were willing to agree, that whatever gold or silver they took should be put into a chest under three locks, one key of which the captain was to have, the master a second, and a person appointed by the ship's crew a third; and that no division should be made till they came to England.

This being agreed to, they pursued their voyage to the height of Arequipa, where they found that the viceroy of Peru, don Garcias Hurtado de Mendoza, having received intelligence of their entrance into the South Seas, had fitted out a squadron of six armed vessels, to fight and take them. At this time captain Hawkins had, with himself in the Dainty, and a little Indian prize, fitted out as a pinnace, no more than seventy five men and boys; with which inconsiderable force he braved the whole Spanish fleet in those seas.

About the middle of May, the Spanish squadron, under don Beltrain de Castro, came in sight of them near Cavite; the English being then to windward, and the breeze springing up about nine in the morning, they stood out to sea, and the Spaniards after them. As the wind encreased, and the sea began to swell, the Spanish admiral sprung his main-mast, the vice-admiral split her main-sail, and the rear-admiral carried away her main-yard, which threw them into great disorder, and gave the English an opportunity of making their escape.

The sailors being now convinced that the captain was in the right, were very willing, after taking in wood and water, to proceed to the East Indies, with what little they had taken, and the few trifling prizes they might afterwards make themselves masters of. With regard to the Spanish squadron, on its return to Lima, all on board were so laughed at, for not being able to take a single ship, much inferior in force to any of theirs, that the admiral petitioned for leave to put again to sea, with what strength could be soonest got together, namely, two ships and a pinnace, into which putting the strongest of his men, he sailed directly in search of those who had before escaped him.

Had captain Hawkins been able to persuade his people to have been steady to their own resolution, this might have been rendered impracticable;

cable ; but they were still so bent in chasing every thing they saw, that on the 10th of June they came to an anchor in the bay of Atacames, from whence they were just ready to sail on the 20th, when they discovered the Spanish squadron, which captain Hawkins immediately knew : but his men, obstinate as usual, would have it to be the Peru fleet bound for Panama, laden with treasure, which they already shared n imagination. It was not however long before they were convinced of their mistake, and a very unequal dispute began between a vessel that had been many months at sea, and a poor defenceless pinnace, against three clean and well armed ships, two of them of superior force, the three ships having one thousand three hundred men on board. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the English bravely defended themselves for two whole days, and great part of a third ; nor did they surrender at last, till captain Hawkins was disabled, and forced to quit the deck, when, besides those killed, they had forty men wounded, and their ship hardly able to swim.

No sooner were the ships engaged, than captain Hawkins perceived how much he had been mistaken in his gunner, who promised what great things the Dainty would do, but now lost all presence of mind. For by his negligence or treachery, two hundred fire balls, which were their whole store, had been spoiled with wet, cartridges were wanting in an hour ; and his behaviour was so cowardly, that the captain and the master of the ship were obliged to supply his place. On the other side, the gunner in the Spanish admiral, who was also an Englishman, and promised to do mighty things, had his head taken off by a shot in the beginning of the action. In the evening they were boarded by the vice-admiral, of whom they cleared themselves, killing a great number of the enemy, and might have taken the vessel, could they have spared men to board her. This made the Spaniards alter their method of fighting, and depend on their artillery. In these boardings the English suffered some loss, and their commander much more, the master having one of his eyes, his nose, and half his face shot away, besides one Mr Henry Courton killed, who were the two principal persons he relied on. Captain Hawkins himself had also six wounds, of which two were very dangerous ; and therefore he was obliged to appoint a captain under him, to whom the Spaniards having proposed good terms, a debate arose, in which captain Hawkins, by an eloquent speech, prevailed on the crew to reject them. Accordingly they sustained a great cannonading all night and next day, which they as warmly returned, and were near disabling the vice-admiral, when, had they prosecuted their advantage, they might have disengaged themselves ; but by shewing too great eagerness to escape, they lost the opportunity of doing it : the third day in the afternoon, more of their sails being torn, their masts spoiled, their pumps split, and eight feet water in their hold ; very few men without wounds, and those so much fatigued as to be scarce able to stand, the last proposal was made,

made, to which the substituted captain assented, though without captain Hawkins's full concurrence. When he knew how matters stood, he sent Juan Gomez de Pineda, a Spanish pilot then his prisoner, to the Spanish general, to demand his word of honour for their fair usage, and a pledge for its being punctually kept.

"In the midst of this treaty," says captain Hawkins, "the vice-admiral not knowing what had passed, discharged her two chace pieces at us, and hurt our captain very sore in the thigh, and maimed Hugh Maires, one of our master's mates, in one of his arms; but after knowing us to be surrendered, he succoured us; and we satisfying them that we could not hoist out our boat, nor strike our sails, the admiral laid us aboard; but before any man entered, John Gomez went unto the admiral, who received him with great courtesy, and asked him what he required? And upon his declaring it, the general made answer, that in the King's Majesty's name his master, he received us in a BUENA QUERRA; and swore by GOD ALMIGHTY, and by the habit of Alcantara, (whereof he had received knighthood, and in token whereof he wore on his breast a green cross), that he would give us our lives with good entreaty, and send us as speedily as he could into our own country; in confirmation whereof, he took off his glove, and sent it to me as a pledge. With this message John Gomez returned, and the Spaniards entered and took possession of our ship."

As soon as the ship was in the hands of the Spaniards, the general sent for captain Hawkins on board his own vessel, where he received him courteously, and with tears in his eyes assured him, that the terms which had been granted should be punctually performed. As this gentleman was brother to the conde de Lemos, had served many years in Flanders, and in all his actions appeared a man of strict honour, the captain, who began now to recover, (as all the wounded men did), resumed his spirits, and as occasion offered entered into a free conversation with that noble person and his officers, informing his own judgment and theirs, and by removing prejudices, not only did himself great service, but also disposed them to treat other Englishmen better.

One day the Spanish general being at his own table, demanded of captain Hawkins, what he apprehended himself entitled to by the general promise of fair quarter. This he endeavoured to decline; but when he found that would not be admitted, and that most of those who were present joined with their general, in desiring him to speak his mind freely, he delivered himself thus:

"Sir, under the capitulation of BUENA QUERRA, I have ever understood, and so it hath ever been observed in these, as also in former times, that preservation of life, and good entreaty of the prisoner, have been comprehended; and further, by no means to be urged to any thing contrary to his conscience as touching his religion, nor to be seduced or menaced from the allegiance due to his prince
" and

" and country ; but rather to ransom him for his month's pay. And " this is that which I have known practised among all civil and noble " nations. But the English having enlarged it one point more to- " wards the Spaniards, rendered a **BUENA QUERRA** in these wars, " have ever delivered them which have been taken, upon such compo- " sitions without ransom. But the covetousnes of our age hath " brought in many abuses, and excluded the principal officers from " partaking of the benefit of this privilege, in leaving them to the de- " struction of the victor, being many times poorer than the common " soldiers, their qualities considered, whereby they are commonly put " to more than the ordinary ransom, and not being able of themselves " to accomplish it, are forgotten of their princes, and sometimes suf- " fer long imprisonment, which they should not." To this don Bel- tran replied, " The ambiguity you have well resolved, and like a wor- thy gentleman :" and with great courtesy and liberality added, " Let " not the last point trouble you : but be of good comfort ; for I here " give you my word anew, that your ransom (if any shall be thought " due) shall be but a couple of greyhounds for me, and another two " for my brother the conde de Lemos ; and this I swear to you by the " habit of Alcantara. Provided always, that the King my master leave " you to my disposal, ~~as~~ of right you belong unto me."

On the 9th of July they arrived in the haven of Panama ; where, the night following, they saw the whole town in one glare of light, the houses, gallaries ; and churches being filled with candles, and the Spanish ships corresponded with their friends on shore, in public testimony of joy for this signal victory, which appeared so to them ; since from the time that Magellan first opened the Streights which bear his name, captain Hawkins was the sixth man that had passed them, and of these the third Englishman. While they remained here, the Spanish general dis- patched expresses, as well to the viceroy of New Spain, who had also fitted out a fleet against this present enemy, as to the viceroy of Peru ; and by the same expresses, captain Hawkins was also permitted to send letters home, which the general assured him should be forwarded to Europe.

On this occasion don Beltran shewed him by a letter from the King to the viceroy, in which was a distinct account of his little squadron, with regard to the vessels of which it consisted, their burden, pieces of canon, and number of men on board each. " You may judge from " hence," added the general in shewing it him, " what friends the " King my master hath in England."

Before they returned to Lima, it was found necessary to ground and fit the English ship they had taken : this being done, the general, his captains, and some religious men, went on board this vessel with great solemnity, and called her *the Visitation*, because she was surrendered on the festival of the blessed Virgin. Captain Hawkins spent upwards of two years in Peru, and the neighbouring provinces ; after which he

was sent to Panama, and from thence on board a galleon of five hundred tons burden, in company with a fleet returning to Europe.

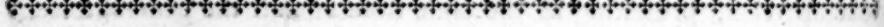
As this fleet came to the Tercera islands in September, at the very time that the English fleet was there, he had like to have been killed or set at liberty; for as he entered the harbour, the galleon, on board of which captain Hawkins was, had twelve persons terribly hurt by splinters, occasioned by a shot from the English admiral, though the shot itself did no execution. After remaining there some time, he was at last sent to Seville, in the river of which he was in very great danger of being killed, from a dispute between two Spanish officers about a point of honour. His Catholic Majesty had sent eight new ships under a general, a man of great quality, to fetch the galleons from those islands, and having passed the bar of St Lucar, the ships laden with treasure were moored in the midst of the river, and their escort on the side next the shore, so that one of the admiral's cables overlaid the only one the galleon, in which captain Hawkins came home, had left; by reason of which, the great current of ebb, and a fresh wind, caused the admiral's anchors to come home, together with that of the galleon: so that both ships began to drive, and were in the utmost danger of running foul of each other. In this untoward situation the general standing in his gallery, gave no orders at all, as judging it beneath him to steer out a cable first; but the captain of the galleon calling out, that he had not another cable, and that he had two millions of silver on board his vessel, protesting at the same time against the general for any damage that might happen, that great man issued the necessary orders, by which both ships, though not without some difficulty, were preserved.

In Seville captain Hawkins was also confined for some time, and then removed to Madrid; where his cause, which was before litigated in the Indies, was again brought into debate. The point was, Whether don Beltran, who had promised him life and liberty in the king of Spain's name, had any authority to make that promise, since he did not derive his power from the King, but from the viceroy of Peru. In the whole course of this debate, the Spanish general said and did whatever could make for his prisoner's advantage, avowed his promise in the clearest terms, and employed all his friends in soliciting that it might be made good to captain Hawkins. The true reason for drawing this affair to so great a length, was to deter others, by his example, from attempting any expeditions into the South Seas. When at last it came before the privy council, the president, *viz.* the count de Miranda, gave it as his opinion, that the promise of a Spanish general, in the King's name, ought to be punctually kept; for otherwise no vessel would ever surrender, since in such conjunctures it would be impossible for them to know whose authority the general had. The decision of the council being thus in his favour, he was set at liberty, and returned to England.

We know nothing further of the fortunes of Sir Richard Hawkins, ^{only} that he died of an apoplectic fit, as he attended the privy council. His book was at that time in the press, and probably finished, since the dedication to prince Charles was prefixed to it by himself; whence it appears that the unhappy issue of his voyage to the South Seas, his long confinement, and the disasters naturally attending it, brought him into great distress.

This work, intituled, *The observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, knight, in his voyage to the South Sea, anno Dom. 1593,* Lond. 1622, folio, was soon after published by a friend, and received with that approbation which it deserved.

Mr Westcot, a learned antiquary of Devonshire, has given a just encomium of him, and his father, in the following observation, "That had Fortune been as propitious to them both, as their valour, virtue, and knowledge were eminent, they might have equalled the choicest worthies of any age. Of this we might have had still further evidence from his own pen, had he lived to have written, as he intended, the second part of his observations, in which he proposed to have shewn what happened to him and his companions, during their stay in Peru, and the TERRA FIRMA."



Admiral *B L A K E.*

ROBERT BLAKE, one of our most famous admirals, and whose actions will be mentioned with honour to the latest posterity, was descended from the ancient family of the Blakes of Plansfield, in Spaxton parish, Somersetshire. His father was by occupation a merchant, settled at Bridgewater, in the neighbourhood of which he purchased an estate, having, by the Spanish trade, raised no inconsiderable fortune. He had several children, the eldest of whom, namely Robert, was born in August 1589, and being educated in his father's life-time at the free-school of Bridgewater, removed himself to Oxford, where he was matriculated in 1615, as a member of St Alban's hall; from whence he removed to Wadham college, where many of his countrymen studied. On the 10th of February 1617, he took a degree of bachelor of arts. In 1623, Mr Blake wrote a copy of verses on the death of Mr Camden, and some time after quitted the university.

With regard to his abilities, lord Clarendon says, "Blake was enough versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected;

" ed;

and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was."

After his return from the university, Mr Blake lived at Bridgewater, in a private manner, and was distinguished by his neighbours as a plain dealer. His natural temper was of a grave severe turn; yet he would readily unbend in an evening, at which time he shewed an humorous bluntness in his conversation, which was very innocent and agreeable. He had been tinctured pretty early with republican principles; and not at all liking that rigour with which Dr Laud, then bishop of Bath and Wells, pressed uniformity in his diocese, he began insensibly to adopt those opinions which were styled *puritanical*.

His innate roughness, and downright sincerity, led him to speak freely on all occasions, so that his political sentiments were generally known, which induced the Puritan party to procure his being elected member for Bridgewater, in that parliament which sat in April 1640. It was dissolved too soon for him to make any figure; and in the next, which was the long parliament, he lost his election.

When the war broke out between the King and parliament, he, in conformity to his principles, declared for the latter, and entered very early into their service, though it does not exactly appear when, or in what quality, but he soon became a captain of dragoons.

In 1643, however, we find him at Bristol, under the command of colonel Fiennes, who entrusted him with the defence of a little fort on the line, in which he gave a public proof of his military abilities; for, on the 26th of July, when prince Rupert attacked that place, and the governor had agreed to capitulate, Mr Blake still held out with his fort, and killed several of the King's forces; which so highly exasperated the prince, that he talked of hanging him, had not some friends interposed, and excused him on account of his want of experience in war, at whose request, though with a good deal of difficulty, he was at last prevailed on to give up the fort. He, after this, served in Somersetshire, under colonel Popham, governor of Lyme, in whose regiment he was lieutenant-colonel.

In 1644, he was appointed governor of Taunton in Somersetshire; a place of no small importance, being the only garrison the parliament held in the west. The works, however, were far from being strong, nor had it any very considerable garrison; yet, by observing a strict discipline, and treating the inhabitants with great lenity, he kept possession of it, though no great care was taken to furnish him with supplies; and it was more than once besieged, and often blocked up by the King's forces. At length, Goring coming before the place, with near ten thousand men, pressed Blake so hard, that, in spite of a vigorous resistance, he actually made himself master of part of the town; however, Blake held out the rest of it, and the castle, till assistance came to his relief; for which extraordinary piece of service, the parlia-

ment gave the garrison a bounty of two thousand pounds, and made colonel Blake a present of five hundred.

This, however, did not hinder a second siege of the place, in which not only Blake, but Weldon was now besieged. The latter, at the head of five thousand men, scorned to be mew'd up, and therefore attempted to break through the royalists, which, however, he could not easily perform. Upon Blake's receiving intelligence of Weldon's distress, and that he was retiring with precipitation towards Taunton, he sallied out at the head of two troops of horse, and vigorously charging the pursuers, thereby gave Weldon's men an opportunity of retiring into the town; after which he made good his own retreat, though closely pressed by the besiegers.

The common-council, and many eminent citizens of London, on news received of this second distress in which Taunton was, voluntarily raised four thousand pounds, for mounting one thousand horse, in order to join major-general Massey, who had orders from the house to attempt its relief. The committee of Kent raised two troops of horse and dragoons, for the same purpose; but all this was not sufficient, considering the danger Weldon and Blake were both in. The governor by letter acquainted the parliament that he should be reduced to great straits, if succours were not immediately sent him; but, at the same time, he assured them, he would never hear of a parley; that the garrison had some ammunition, and were resolv'd to feed on their horses: he desired the house to take their case into immediate deliberation, and left all to God and them: The parliament sent for answer, that he should be speedily relieved; and that they would pay what money he took upon credit. They also desired him and his men to go on in their vigilance and valour, and they should never want encouragement on their parts. Accordingly orders were issued for raising a regiment of dragoons, who were to march with Massey towards Taunton.

In the mean time matters went badly in the west; for colonel Blake could hear nothing of the progress made for his relief: however, colonel Ciely, governor of Lyme, found means to acquaint him of Massey's advancing, and at the same time to convey him a small supply of powder into the town. Upon this Blake ordered a party of the garrison to sally out on the besiegers; and these, with the loss of one hundred men, killed four thousand of Goring's, drove the enemy back, and enlarged their quarters five or six miles in circuit. In another skirmish, he had still greater success; and soon after, the King's affairs being totally ruined, he was entirely relieved.

And it may not be amiss to observe, that Blake's obstinate defence of Taunton, was the principal cause of the parliament's success in this war. It was upon a report of the great distress of this place, and the assurance that it could not hold out above a few days, that the King detached a considerable body of troops into Somersetshire, which contributed to the loss of the decisive battle of Nasbey, which Sir Thomas

mas Fairfax, it is likely, would never have hazarded, had the King's army been entire. So that the parliament had great reason to call Blake their inestimable commander.

In April colonel Blake, with part of his garrison, reduced Dunster castle, a seat belonging to the family of Lutterel, after which he returned triumphantly to Taunton. This was one of the last actions in the war. Some time after this, upon the parliament's voting, that no further addresses should be made to the King, colonel Blake joined in an address of thanks, from the borough of Taunton, for this step taken by the house of Commons. Yet the writer of his life tells us, that when the King came to be tried, Blake disapproved that measure as illegal, and was often heard to say, that he would as freely venture his life to save the King's, as ever he did to serve the parliament. But this must entirely arise from the natural generosity of his disposition; for, after the murder of the King, he joined the Republicans, and indeed, next to Cromwell, was the ablest and most successful officer.

The 12th of February, being appointed, in conjunction with colonel Dean and colonel Popham, to command the fleet, he was soon afterwards ordered to sail with a squadron, in pursuit of prince Rupert and prince Maurice, who were in the Irish seas, in order to assist the marquis of Ormond, then in arms in Ireland for king Charles II. Blake arrived, in June following, before Kinsale, where the two princes lay in harbour; Dean cruized off Plymouth, Popham between the Downs and Portsmouth, and Sir George Ayscue lay in Dublin road. In this manner were the parliament masters of the sea, and the ships of the enemy either blocked up, or flying every where before them. Prince Rupert's men deserted daily, and came over to admiral Blake; and the prince, to hinder further desertion, hung up ten of his men, for offering to run away. Blake blocked him up in the harbour, till October; when despairing of relief, and provisions of all sorts failing short, he resolved to force his way through Blake's squadron: the latter sunk three of his ships, but the rest got clear off, and steered for Lisbon, where his highness was protected by the king of Portugal. The parliament threatening vengeance on that King, for receiving their enemies, Blake followed the two princes to Lisbon; when, before the river of that city, he sent to the King for leave to enter, and coming near with his ship, the castle fired at him. Blake dropped anchor, and sent a boat ashore, to know the reason of this hostility: to which the captain of the castle gave for answer, that he had no orders from the King to let his ships pass. However, the King ordered one of the lords of his court, to go and compliment Blake, and desire him not to come in except the weather proved bad; for he said, that his master was afraid lest some quarrel might ensue between him and prince Rupert, in his harbour; and at the same time the King sent him a large present of fresh provisions.

The weather proving foul, Blake went up the river, about two

miles from the place where prince Rupert's ships lay; and from thence he sent captain Moulton, to inform the King of the falsities in prince Rupert's declaration. The King refusing to admit the admiral to fall on the prince's ships, Blake seized five of the Brazil fleet, that were richly laden; and gave the King to understand, that unless he would order the prince's ships out of the river, he would endeavour to take the rest of the Portuguese fleet from America.

In September, the prince endeavouring to get out of the harbour, was soon driven in again by Blake, who sent home nine ships outward bound for Brazil; and in October following, both Blake and Popham met with a fleet of twenty-three sail, bound from Brazil to Lisbon, of which they sunk the admiral, took the vice-admiral, and eleven other ships, having ten thousand chests of sugar on board, and burnt three more: In his return home, meeting with two ships loaded with provisions for his fleet, he sailed back in search of the prince up the Streights. In this cruize, in his own ship the Phoenix, he took a French man of war, which had committed hostilities, and this was reckoned a very rich prize: He next proceeded to Cartagena, where the prince lay; and, upon coming to an anchor before the fort, he acquainted the Spanish governor, that an enemy to the state of England being in his port, the parliament had ordered him to pursue him; and the King of Spain being in amity with the parliament, he desired leave to take all advantages against their enemy. The governor replied, that, without regard to the difference among any nations or persons, he could only take notice of such as were declared enemies to the King his master; that they came in thither for safety, and he therefore could not refuse them protection, and that he would do the same for the admiral.

Blake still pressed the governor for leave to fall on the prince; and the Spaniard put him off, till he could receive orders from Madrid. While the admiral was cruising in the Mediterranean, prince Rupert got out of Cartagena, and sailed for Malaga, whither, in January, Blake followed him; and finding him in the port, attacked him without the ceremony of asking leave, and burnt or destroyed all his fleet, except two ships only, viz. the Reformation, in which prince Rupert himself was, and the Swallow, commanded by prince Maurice.

In February following, Blake took a French man of war of forty guns. Not long after, arriving at Plymouth, he received the thanks of the parliament, who, besides, made him warden of the Cinque Ports.

On the 4th of March, an act was passed, whereby colonel Blake, colonel Popham and colonel Dean, or any two of them, were appointed admirals and generals of the fleet for the ensuing year. The first service he performed after this promotion, was reducing the isles of Scilly.

This was a matter of some importance, since, besides the privateers from thence, which much disturbed our trade, and took the ships; it was also known that the Dutch had an eye on these islands, and had accordingly

accordingly sent Van Trump, and twelve men of war, with instructions, either to purchase or reduce them. In May, general Blake sailed thither, with eight hundred land forces on board his squadron; when Sir John Greenville, who commanded there for the King, after a short resistance, submitted. The general then sailed for Guernsey, where he arrived in October; but the reduction of that island could not be completed that year: however, in the beginning of the next, the governor finding all hopes of relief to be in vain, made the best terms he could; and, to the honour of Blake it may be said, that though no man proceeded with more alertness, while the sword was drawn, yet in all treaties he was remarkably condescending; for he detested being made an instrument of oppression, though ready at all times to do his country justice. In acknowledgment of this signal service, he received the thanks of the parliament, was also elected one of the council of state, and much courted by Cromwell, who now openly began to set up for himself.

The 25th of March, Blake was made sole admiral for nine months, on the prospect of a Dutch war. It is generally believed, that this was sought by the States, rather than by the parliament of England, being very confident of their strength at sea, and piqued at the firmness of the new commonwealth, which inclined them to attempt, by some sudden blow, to support their own reputation, and lessen that of their rival. With this view Van Trump being sent out with a fleet of forty sail of men of war into the Downs, Blake, though he had only twenty-three, fought the former gallantly, and obliged him to retreat on the 19th of May with considerable loss.

After this dispute at sea, the Dutch became more tractable, and seemed very well inclined to peace; but the new commonwealth of England stood upon such high terms, as were not to be complied with; and therefore both sides prepared to carry on the war thus hastily begun, without much reason on either, and perhaps out of mere emulation on both sides. While Blake lay in the Downs, he reinforced his fleet, and prepared for another engagement, holding in June a solemn fast, after which, finding that a general action was not likely to ensue, he resolved to prosecute the war by taking the enemy's merchant ships, in which he had amazing success, and so effectually cleared the seas, that on the 2d of July he was at liberty to sail with a strong squadron northwards. By the 12th of August he returned into the Downs, with six Dutch men of war he had taken, and nine hundred prisoners. Thence he stood over to their own coast. Towards the close of August, part of his fleet fell in with a squadron of French men of war, which they took and carried to Dover.

At last, the 28th of September, coming up with the Dutch fleet, after disabling three of the enemy's ships, and taking their rear-admiral, the victory declared entirely on the English side, and the Dutch ran for it. On the 30th the enemy were almost out of sight, the English still

Still pursuing them till they saw them run into the Goree : where the general calling a council of war, it was therein resolved to return to the Downs, having lost but few men and not one ship : and, after cruizing successfully against the subjects of the States General, they became heartily weary of the war.

Some pressing occasions obliging general Blake to make large detachments from his fleet, Van Trump, with fourscore men of war, resolved to take this opportunity of attacking Blake in the Downs ; who calling a council of war, it was therein resolved to fight, though at a great disadvantage. This battle began the 29th of November, about two in the morning, and lasted till near six in the evening, when Blake finding that the Dutch had two ships to his one, that the English were very much disabled, and that the Dutch had the advantage of the wind, he withdrew in the night into the Thames with the loss of some of his fleet. Yet Trump bought this victory dear ; though the advantage gained by the Dutch in this action puffed them up exceedingly ; and Van Trump sailed through the channel, with a broom at his main-top-mast head, to signify, that he had swept those seas of English ships ; they also began to threaten taking from us all our plantations in the West Indies. But Blake in the mean time repairing and recruiting his fleet, which now was under his command in conjunction with Monk and Dean, on the 8th of February, they sailed from Queensborough with sixty men of war, and were presently joined with twenty more from Portsmouth. On the 18th, discovering Van Trump with seventy sail, and three hundred merchantmen under his convoy, Blake with twelve ships engaged the Dutch fleet, and was severely handled ; and he himself had like to have been lost, had not Lawson timely assisted him, and though grievously wounded in the thigh, continued the fight till night, when the Dutch retired. Blake having set his wounded men ashore at Portsmouth, followed and came up with the enemy next day, when the fight was renewed with loss to the Dutch, who kept retreating towards Boulogne. Blake continued the pursuit all the next night, and on the 20th of February the two fleets fought again with incredible fury, from morning till four in the afternoon, when the wind blowing favourably for the Dutch, they reached the sands of Calais, from whence they tided it home.

On the 20th of April, Cromwell and his officers turned out the parliament, who were grown extremely jealous of military men, and persons of action, as fearing they should grow too high and overpower them, and shortly after he assumed the supreme power, and to him the fleet unanimously adhered. The States hoped great advantages from this measure, which however they did not immediately receive, Blake and his colleagues wisely declaring, that whatever happened at home, they would not suffer their country to endure injuries or insults from abroad, and in this they were as good as their words. For besides the declaration of their resolution published by the admirals and sea-officers, the general

general was of opinion, on the revolution which happened afterwards, that it was his and his mens duty to act faithfully abroad in their stations, in such a manner as might be most conducive to the public peace and welfare, whatever irregularity was in the councils at home; saying to his officers, "It is not for us to mind state-affairs, but to keep foreign reigns from fooling us."

This conduct induced even Anthony Wood to say, that ever after Blake continued a fortunate assertor of his country's privileges from the encroachments of insulting neighbours, a victorious enemy of the Spaniards, and was highly valued by all parties, and even by the royalists. To say the truth, it is hard to conceive how admiral Blake could have acted otherwise, consistent with his regard to his country; since it is certain, that the parliament began to be suspected of intending to perpetuate themselves, which would have been little better than enslaving the rest of the nation. Besides, the officers on board the fleet were very little satisfied with the conduct of the committee, who, by virtue of the powers lodged in them by parliament, were a sort of lords of the admiralty; and these were the four following persons, *viz.* Sir Henry Vane junior, Mr Soloway, colonel Thomson, and Mr John Carew.

Towards the end of April, Blake and his colleagues, with a fleet of one hundred sail, stood over to the Dutch coast, and forced their fleet to fly for shelter into the Texel, where they were blocked up by Monk and Dean, while Blake sailed northward. At last Trump came out, having drawn together a fleet of one hundred and twenty men of war. On the 3d of June the two colleagues engaged the enemy off the Northforeland, with indifferent success; but next day, Blake coming in to their assistance with eighteen French ships, thereby gained a complete victory, and had not the Dutch saved themselves again on Calais sands, their whole fleet had been sunk or taken.

In the mean time, Cromwell appointed a sort of parliament, called, *the little parliament*, in which Mr Blake sat as one of the commissioners for Somersetshire, and was by the same parliament continued one of the generals of the fleet: however, his health did not admit of his going to sea, and therefore he had no share, but by his advice, in the last great victory gained over the Dutch the 29th of July; for which the parliament ordered him a gold chain, as well as the other admirals who were actually present. On the 10th of October he took his seat in the house, where he received their solemn thanks for his many and faithful services.

Soon after the protector Oliver called a new parliament, composed of four hundred members, Mr Blake representing therein his native town of Bridgewater. On the 6th of December he was constituted one of the commissioners of the admiralty for six months; and as he was treated with great respect by Cromwell, so he in return behaved towards

towards the protector with great fidelity, though perhaps no great affection, being naturally inclined to a commonwealth.

In November Cromwell sent him with a strong fleet into the Mediterranean, with instructions which he knew would be pleasing to him, *viz.* to support the honour of the English flag, and procure satisfaction for whatever injuries might have been done to our merchants. In December Blake came into the road of Cádiz, where he was treated with great respect, and a Dutch admiral would not hoist his flag while he lay there. A French squadron having stopped one of his tenders separated from Blake in a storm, the admiral, as soon as he knew to whom she belonged, sent for the captain on board, and drank the general's health before him, under a discharge of five guns. The Algerines were so afraid of him, that they obliged the Saltee rovers to deliver up what English prisoners they had on board, and sent them freely to Blake, in order to merit his favour. All this, however, did not hinder his coming the 10th of March before Algiers, sending an officer to the Dey with a message, that he had orders to demand satisfaction for the piracies committed on the English, as also the release of all such English captives as were then there. To this the Dey returned answer, that the ships and captives belonging to particular men, he could not restore them without discontenting all his subjects; yet he might redeem what English captives were there at a reasonable price, and he would conclude a peace with him, and for the future offer no acts of hostility to those of his nation. This answer the Dey accompanied with a large present of fresh provisions; and at that time it satisfied Blake, who leaving Algiers, sailed to Tunis on the same errand. The Dey of Tunis sent a haughty answer: "Here," said he, "are our 'castles of Goletta and Porto Ferino, do your worst: do you think 'we fear your fleet?" supposing his place impregnable; but he was extremely mistaken, for Blake forced him to a humble submission, and a disadvantageous peace, after he had demolished his castles, and burnt all the shipping in the harbour of Tunis. This daring action spread the terror of his name through Africa, which for a long time before was formidable in Europe. In like manner he terrified the piratical state of Tripoli into a peace with England, and also brought the knights of Malta into a composition for the injuries done this nation. These last exploits were performed in the spring 1655, and raised the fame of the English so high, that most of the princes and states in Italy, particularly the grand duke of Tuscany, and the republic of Venice, sent magnificent embassies to the protector.

In the mean time, the war with Spain growing pretty hot, Blake, in pursuance of the protector's orders, did all in his power to ruin their maritime force in Europe, as Penn had done in the West Indies. But these continual cares falling on a constitution already much broken, brought general Blake into so bad a state of health, that fearing the ill consequences if he died without having any colleague, who might take

charge

charge of the fleet on such an emergency, he wrote letters into England to have some proper person joined in commission with him : accordingly general Montague was sent with a strong squadron, and made joint admiral with him, according to his desire.

Soon after his arrival in the Mediterranean, they both sailed with their whole fleet, in order to block up a Spanish squadron in the bay of Cadiz ; which they did for several months, till finding in September that they were in want of water, they stood away for the coast of Portugal, leaving seven ships under the command of captain Stayner to look after the enemy. In the mean time, the Spanish plate-fleet steering for Cadiz, were intercepted by Stayner, who took the vice-admiral, and another galleon, afterwards burnt accidentally, as also the rear-admiral with two millions of plate on board, and another rich ship. These prizes, with the prisoners, were, on the return of the fleet, sent into England under general Montague, Blake alone remaining in the Mediterranean.

Notwithstanding Blake's distemper, which now appeared to be a dropsy and scurvy, encreased daisly, yet receiving intelligence that another plate-fleet had put into Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriff, he, in April 1657, sailed thither with twenty-five men of war. On the 20th of that month, he came into the road of Santa Cruz, and having summoned the Spanish governor, and received a short answer, he determined to force the place, and burn the fleet in the harbour. This he performed in such a manner as astonished the ablest seamen of those times, and appears next to incredible in ours. It is allowed to be one of the most remarkable actions that ever happened at sea.

The earl of Clarendon's reflections on this extraordinary exploit are very worthy of notice here : "The whole action," says he, "was so miraculous, that all men who knew the place, wondered that any sober man, with what courage soever endued, would ever have undertaken it : and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done ; whilst the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief, that they were devils, and not men, who had destroyed them in such a manner. So much a strong resolution of bold and courageous men can bring to pass, that no resistance and advantage of ground can disappoint them."

In this bloody engagement, captain Benjamin Blake, the admiral's brother, being guilty of some mistake in his conduct, the admiral caused him to be instantly removed, his strict regard for his country obliging him to prefer impartial justice to any natural ties whatever.

This was the last military transaction of Blake's life. For he soon found his dissolution was approaching, and accordingly determined to return home. He set sail for England, and in his last sickness often enquired for land, which he did not live to see, dying as the fleet entered

tered Plymouth sound, on board the St George, the 17th of August 1657, being in the 59th year of his age.

His body was next day embalmed and wrapped up in lead, his bowels buried in the great church at Plymouth, and his corps conveyed by sea to Greenwich house, where, after lying in state, it was, on the 4th of September, carried by water in a large barge of state, accompanied by his brother, relations and servants in mourning, Oliver's privy council, the commissioners of admiralty and navy, the lord mayor and aldermen of London, the field officers of the army, and many other persons of distinction, in a great number of barges and wherries in mourning, all properly marshalled by the heralds at arms. Thus they passed to Westminster, and at their landing proceeded in the same order through a guard to the abbey, his dear friend general Lambert attending on horseback. His body was interred in a vault built on purpose in Henry VII.'s chapel, from whence it was by order removed after the restoration: and though the remains of Cromwell, Ireton, and other rebels, which had been buried in the abbey, were ignominiously treated, yet these of Blake were with great decency re-interred in St Margaret's church-yard.

He was a man of a low stature, with a quick lively eye, and a good soldier-like countenance. He was brave beyond example, yet cool in action, and shewed a great deal of military conduct in the disposition of those desperate attacks, which men of a cooler composition have reckoned rather fortunate than expedient. He loved his country with extraordinary affection; and as he never intermeddled with state-intrigues, so, under whatever government he served, he was solicitous to perform his duty. He was upright to a high degree; for notwithstanding the vast sums which passed through his hands, he scarce left five hundred pounds behind him of his own acquisition. In fine, he was disinterested, and free from ambition, exposing himself on all occasions for the benefit of the public, and the honour of the nation; without any view to his own profit or fame. In regard to his personal character, he was pious without affectation, strictly just, and liberal to the utmost extent of his ability. His officers he treated with the familiarity of friends, and to his sailors he was truly a parent. The State buried him, as was fit, at the public expence; and though he still wants a tomb and epitaph, writers of all parties have shewn a great earnestness to do his memory justice; the accounts of some of which it may not be amiss briefly to give here.

Dr Bates, after running over his famous exploits abroad, says, He was blameable only in this, that he joined himself with the parricides; yet he introduces this character with saying, that Blake was a man ^{AB} HOSTE LAUDANDUS, deserving praise though any enemy. My Lord Clarendon concludes his character of him thus: "He was the first who declined the old track, and made it manifest, that the world might be attained in less time than was imagined, and despised
" those

" those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and
" men out of danger ; which had been held in former times a point
" of great ability and circumspection, as if the principal art requisite
" in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again.
" He was the first man who brought ships to contemn castles on shore,
" which had been thought ever formidable ; and were discovered by
" him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could be rarely
" hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of cou-
" rage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what migh-
" ty things they could do if they were resolved, and taught them to
" fight in fire as well as upon water ; and though he hath been well
" imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of
" that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements."

We shall conclude the whole with a story from bishop Burnet :
" While Blake lay in the road of Malaga, before the war broke out
" with Spain, some of his seamen going ashore, met the host carrying
" about ; and not only paid no respect to it, but laughed at those who
" did. One of the Spanish priests put the people upon resenting this
" indignity ; and they fell upon them, and beat them severely. When
" they returned to their ships, they complained of this usage : upon which
" Blake sent a trumpet to the viceroy to demand the priest, who had been
" the chief instrument in that ill usage. The viceroy answered, that he
" had no authority over the priests, and so could not dispose of them.
" General Blake upon that sent him word, that he would not enquire
" who had the power to send the priest to him ; but if he were not
" sent within three hours, he would burn their town. The Spaniards
" hearing this, obliged the viceroy to send the priest to Blake, and he
" justified himself upon the petulant behaviour of the seamen. Blake
" answered, that if he had sent a complaint to him of it, he would
" have punished them severely, since he would not suffer his men to
" affront the established religion of any place at which he touched ; but
" he took it ill that he had set on the Spaniards to do it ; for he would
" have all the world to know, that an Englishman was only to be pu-
" nished by an Englishman. Thus he treated the priest civilly, and
" sent him back, being satisfied that he had him in his power." Crom-
well was highly delighted with this, and read the letters in council
with great satisfaction ; withal adding, that he hoped he should make
the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been.

Sir *G E O R G E A Y S C U E.*

SIR George Ayfcue, Ayfcouth, or Askew, an English admiral of conspicuous merit, was descended from a very ancient family in Lincolnshire, and entered early into the navy, where he obtained the character of an able officer, and the honour of knighthood from king Charles I.

But this instance of regard shewn him by his majesty, did not hinder him from adhering to the parliament, where, by a singular intrigue, he got possession of the fleet; and so zealous was he in the service of these his new masters, that when, in 1648, the greatest part of the navy went over to the prince of Wales, he, who was then commander of the Lion, secured that ship for the parliament, which was by them considered an important service, as will appear from a summary recapitulation of that affair.

This revolt of the fleet was entirely owing to the disposition of the common seamen; for scarce any officer at all was concerned in it: and at a time too when the parliament was every where victorious. In order to have a right understanding of this matter, it must be remembered, that the parliament had, in the beginning of the war, drawn off the fleet from the King's service, partly by alienating the minds of the sailors from their sovereign, and partly by his own commission of admiral, which he had granted to the earl of Northumberland, but with a proviso to hold that office no longer than till the duke of York was of age.

It was from this proviso, of which the parliament served themselves in the beginning, that they now began to be afraid. The earl of Warwick, and his Presbyterian officers, who had brought off the fleet from the King, were not likely to go all the lengths then expected from them: for which reason the parliament appointed colonel Rainsborough vice-admiral, and sent him into the Downs to take upon him the command of the fleet. But upon his arrival, the sailors, who had for some time been politicians, having observed some words that fell from their officers, they settled these three points among themselves. The first was, that the parliament were doing, or contriving something very bad: because in Scotland, Essex, Lancashire, Kent, and especially at London, the people were generally discontented; and also because they could not trust the old officers, who had so faithfully served them already, but were putting others into the fleet, on whom they might depend.

They

They also knew, that as the King's affairs declined from the moment the fleet left him, so these would recover when the fleet returned to his service. The third point was, that the duke of York, now become a fine young prince, had just made his escape to Holland, and was capable of making them a good admiral.

Upon Rainborough's coming on board in the Downs, they very plainly asked him, whether he would go with them in quest of their admiral the duke of York? which he resenting, and beginning to talk in a high strain, they sent him and a boatful of his new captains ashore; and hoisting sail, bore away for the Dutch coast. This happened in July; and the ships that thus deserted the parliament, were twenty-one men of war, mostly first and second rates, well manned and provided. This fleet soon after appeared at the mouth of the Thames, by which means the commerce of London suffered severely; so that it is not surprising that Sir George Ayscue's preserving, in such a juncture, his ship for the parliament, gained him considerable credit and confidence from his masters.

As this was a sufficient proof of his fidelity to them, they immediately gave him the command of a squadron, which was employed to watch the motions of the prince of Wales; and with it he sailed to the coast of Ireland, where his vigilance prevented his royal highness from performing what he otherwise might have done; and his great interest with the seamen drew many of them back to the service they had deserted.

This strongly recommended him to the parliament, who next year sent him with a considerable number of ships to the coast of Ireland, and, by a vote which they passed, conferred on him the title of admiral of those seas. This commission he executed with equal spirit and vigilance, supplying the city of Dublin with provisions, by which means it was preserved; the army he attended on all emergencies, and every way contributed so effectually to the reduction of Ireland, that the parliament not only continued him in his command for another year, but also ordered an immediate provision for paying off his arrears, and made him a present of one hundred pounds, as a token of their favour, and a just acknowledgment of his services.

In the beginning of this affair the parliament indeed treated Sir George with the greatest respect; for they desired he would go over in the expedition to Holland, to look after the ships which had revolted; and he not only carefully watched the fleet that had deserted, under the command of prince Rupert, so as to prevent his executing any thing of importance, but also Sir George at last blocked him up in the harbour of Kinsale.

It was he also who secured the landing of Cromwell's army, so that to this gentleman might be justly ascribed the parliament's recovering themselves, and maintaining that kingdom after the King's death, when they had but very little hopes of it. They therefore might very well thank

thank their commanders at sea, pass congratulatory votes in their favour, order the ministers who preached before them, to take particular notice in their sermons of their diligence and success, and endeavour to retain such necessary instruments to their service, by providing for the payment of their arrears. So that all the writers of those times agree, that however the parliament came by their power, they managed it with dignity, decency, and discretion.

And this observation may be justly drawn from hence, that Sir George Ayscue and the other sea-officers, as they behaved well, were encouraged and rewarded by their masters, who kept so strict an eye over the servants of the public in general, that it was equally impossible for men of no merit to rise, as for such as really possessed it to pass unregarded.

After the war was finished in Ireland, and the parliament had thereby time to think of the proper means of subduing the rest of the dominions of the crown of England to their obedience, Sir George Ayscue had orders to sail with a small squadron for reducing the island of Barbadoes: but before he had got into any readiness for that purpose, his orders were countermanded, on account of an information which the parliament had received, that the Dutch were treating with Sir John Greenville for having the illes of Scilly put into their hands; and therefore it was thought necessary to reduce these islands first. In spring both Blake and Ayscue were employed in this expedition, and performed it with honour and success. They had but a small body of troops on board, whereas Sir John had a considerable force in the island of St Mary, commanded by some of the best officers in the late King's army: so that if the dispute had been determined by the sword, the engagement must have been bloody, and the event of it doubtful. Sir John easily foresaw all this, and therefore entered into a treaty with the parliament's commanders, who gave him fair and honourable terms, after which general Blake returned to England, and admiral Ayscue proceeded on his voyage to Barbadoes. Upon having the first news of the reduction of Scilly, the parliament were extremely well pleased; and indeed they had much reason, since privateers from thence very much annoyed their trade. But when the conditions given to Sir John came to be publicly known, some great men changed their opinions, and acquainted Blake that he and his colleague had been too forward, and it was a question whether the parliament would ratify that agreement. To this Blake alledged, that first it saved the effusion of English blood; and next, that a strong Dutch squadron was at no great distance, the commander of which had offered Sir John one hundred thousand pounds to put these islands into his hands; and that if the parliament did not approve of his conduct, he would take care to prevent a mistake of that kind for the future, by laying down his commission, as he was confident Sir George would also do.

Upon this the articles were complied with, and Sir George Ayscue, after

after receiving orders, sailed immediately for the West Indies, never expecting to hear any more of these articles, which, as they had been made on just grounds, he thought might have met with a favourable reception; but afterwards he had cause given him to apprehend, that whatever benefit the parliament might receive from the service itself, they were far from being satisfied with the manner in which it had been performed.

It is generally the unhappiness of a government, which has a distrust of its own title, to be suspicious to an unreasonable degree; and this was one of the foibles to which our long parliament was subject; and which at last proved the ruin of their power; for Cromwell and his creatures very well knowing, that the only means of subverting that senate, was by dividing them, and rendering their bottom narrower, took great pains to infuse the following notion into honest men's heads, that mere acts of generosity and virtue flowed from a secret regard to the royal cause; and thus they brought Blake and Ayscue to be looked upon as men not fit to be trusted. Some pains were also taken to infuse into the minds of Blake and Ayscue, a deep resentment of this undeserved treatment; and that this was not without some effect, appears from the warmth which the former expressed on the occasion.

Some passages relating to the reduction of these islands may deserve notice, as they clear up several difficulties, even in the best histories of those times. First, it is certain that the lesser isles were actually taken up by the parliament's forces, and Sir John blocked up both by sea and land, in the island of St Mary, which indeed he had fortified, and had a sufficient number of men to defend: but then these two following particulars made against him; first, that the King his master could afford him no succours; the next was, that though the Dutch would have purchased the island, yet he had no reason to hope they would take him and his troops on board, should they happen to be distressed by the parliament's forces. These certainly were sufficient reasons for Sir John's endeavouring to make the best terms he could for himself. Besides, the parliament had no just cause to blame the conduct of their generals in this affair, since, by the situation of these islands, if they had happened to fall into the enemy's hands, neither England nor Ireland could be safe; and if reasonable conditions had not been granted Sir John, he must have been obliged to have accepted the terms which the Dutch offered him. Yet still it is to be remembered, that Sir George Ayscue had actually no hand in granting him these conditions, since it is evident, that, in consequence of his writing to the parliament, he had orders to proceed on his voyage to Barbadoes, and had actually failed before the signing of the articles, which was done May the twenty-third, 1651.

To return to the thread of our story, Sir George continued his voyage, meeting with no cross accident, till his arrival at Barbadoes on the 26th of October in the same year. Here he found his enterprize would be

be attended with great difficulties, which could not have been foreseen at home. The lord Willoughby of Parham commanded there for the King, and had got together a body of five thousand men for the defence of the island. He was a nobleman of great abilities, and still greater probity, one who had been highly respected by the parliament before he quitted their party, and whose worth had powerfully recommended him to the esteem and affection of the inhabitants, of whose persons and properties he had as absolute a disposal as was necessary for a governor in his situation to have: and the use he made of this power was as right in itself, as that critical conjuncture required.

Though Sir George was perfectly aware of the great and numerous obstacles which lay in his way, he shewed no signs of timidity, but boldly forced his passage into the harbour, and made himself master of twelve Dutch merchantmen which lay there, in hopes it would raise an insurrection in the island; but in this, however, he was disappointed. Next morning he sent a summons to lord Willoughby, requiring him to submit to the authority of the parliament of England: to which his lordship returned for answer, that he knew no such authority, and that he had a commission from king Charles II. to be governor of that island, and he would keep it for his majesty's service at the hazard of his life. And to enable him to make good his word, he put the island and its inhabitants in the best posture of defence he could. As he was much superior in strength, Sir George did not think it adviseable to land the few troops he had with him, and by that means expose his weakness to such a wary enemy.

In the mean time, he received a letter by an advice-boat from England, with the news of the King's defeat at Worcester, as also another letter from lady Willoughby, that had been intercepted, which contained a circumstantial account of that unhappy affair. Upon this he sent lord Willoughby a second summons, accompanying it with his lady's letter; but all this made no impression on his lordship, who persisted in his resolution of holding out the island as long as he could.

All this time Sir George lay at anchor in Speight's bay, where he remained till December; when, on the arrival of the Virginia fleet, he determined to take an opportunity of landing with the greater advantage; for he made as if that were a reinforcement which had been sent him, and for which he had waited till then, whereas the real truth was, he had not above two thousand men, and the sight of the army on shore made him cautious of venturing his men, till he found the inhabitants began to conceive a greater idea of his strength than they had done before.

Accordingly the Virginia ships were welcomed, on their coming in, as a fresh supply of men of war: he immediately gave orders for his men to land one hundred and fifty Scots servants from aboard that fleet, being added to a regiment of seven hundred men, besides some seamen, to make their number appear more formidable. On board Sir George's fleet was

one colonel Allen, a gentleman of Barbadoes, who had come from thence to England, in order to solicit the parliament for a force sufficient to reduce the island to their obedience ; and therefore he was looked up on as the most proper person to command the forces on shore.

He accordingly landed with them December 17th, and found lord Willoughby's forces well entrenched near a fort on the sea-coast.

Notwithstanding this, they attacked him in his trenches ; and in a sharp dispute, in which about sixty men were killed on both sides, they had so much the advantage, that they drove Willoughby's men to the fort, though colonel Allen their commander had been killed by a musket-shot, on his first attempting to land. The soldiers and seamen, however, made themselves masters of the fort, and four pieces of cannon in it. After this success, the sailors returned to their ships, which kept cruizing up and down, to prevent any succours coming to the inhabitants of the island, or any merchant ships trading with them.

The soldiers in the mean time posting themselves in the fort, made continual incursions from thence into the neighbouring country ; upon which the chief inhabitants soon grew weary of the war : and this Sir George understanding, by means of the correspondence which he held in the island, procured colonel Moddiford, one of the most leading men there, to enter into a treaty with him ; and this negotiation was carried on with such success, that Moddiford declared publickly for a peace, and joaied with Sir George to bring lord Willoughby to reason, as they termed it.

Sir George's men were now on shore, making up together a body of two thousand foot, and one hundred horse ; for many deserters had come over to him. Had Moddiford with his party joined him in the attack, the governor could have no hopes of escaping ; who having before deserted the parliament, could expect no mercy, if he was taken without a treaty. But probably all this would hardly have induced that nobleman to have given up the island, had not an accident happened which put the gentlemen about him into such confusion, that neither their advice nor assistance could any longer be depended on. The affair was thus :

His lordship, perceiving that his superiority lay mostly in horse, resolved to make a bold push with the body under his own immediate command : for having, previously to the execution of his design, assembled his officers, while they were sitting in council, a cannon-ball beat open the door, and took off the head of the centinel posted before it ; which struck such a pannic into all the gentlemen present, that they not only compelled their governor to lay aside his design, but to retreat to a place about two miles further from the harbour.

Sir George, taking advantage of this piece of unexpected good fortune on shore, directly ordered all his forces to land, which consisted of the number above-specified, and to advance under the command of captain Morrice, as if with an intention to attack them in their en-

trenchments ; which motion so intimidated some of the principal persons about the governor, that, after mature deliberation on his own circumstances, and the disposition they were then in, he began to waver in his resolution ; and therefore, to avoid the effusion of blood, both parties appointed commissaries for treating on a peace. Sir George on his part nominated captain Peck, Mr Searl, colonel Thomas Moddisford, and James Colliton, esq; : and lord Willoughby, on his side, named Sir Richard Peers, Charles Pim, esq; colonel Ellice, and major Byham, who on January 17th 1652, agreed on articles of rendition equally comprehensive and honourable. By this convention lord Willoughby obtaining what he most desired, *viz.* indemnity, freedom of person and estate, soon after returned to England. The islands of Nevis, Antigua, and St Christophers, were by the same treaty surrendered to the parliament, with a proviso, by which lord Willoughby, colonel Walrond, and some others mentioned in it, had their estates given them, and all the inhabitants were not only promised indemnity, but protection in the quiet possession of their plantations, on condition they did nothing to the prejudice of the commonwealth. After signing this treaty, Mr Searl was appointed governor of Barbadoes, and Mr Rynell of Antigua, and the leeward islands, by virtue of a commission granted Sir George Ayscue for that purpose.

An account of the reduction of Barbadoes, the parliament received the 23d of April 1652 ; and, after the articles were read, the house ordered the messenger one hundred pounds.

The news of the reduction of these islands spread such an alarm in that part of the world, that captain Dennis being detached with a few ships to Virginia, very easily took it : after which Sir George, considering that he had fully executed his commission, and his presence was no longer necessary in America, resolved to return with the squadron under his command to England ; and arriving safe at Plymouth, May 25th, 1652, was received with all imaginable marks of joy by the people there, who had known him before : his late success also not a little contributed to the raising his reputation.

Before we proceed any further in the transactions of Sir George Ayscue, it may not be altogether amiss to observe here, that he was greatly in favour with William Lilly, the famous almanack-maker, whose predictions governed at this time all the common people, and therefore he was made use of as a state-engine on every great revolution. He particularly honoured Sir George, by preserving in his observations the dates of his greatest exploits, which he never did for any other person, of what rank soever : and what makes it still more extraordinary is, that he did this after he had been laid aside.

To return : not long after Sir George's arrival, he found himself again obliged to enter upon action : for the Dutch war, which had broke out in his absence, then became very warm ; and he was forced to take a share

share in it, though his ships were so foul, as to be fitter to be laid up than employed in any farther service.

The 21st of June 1652, Sir George, in compliance with the orders he received from London, came to Dover with his squadron of eleven sail, and there joined his old friend admiral Blake, on board whose ship (where he dined) he was received with all imaginable respect and kindness by that famous commander. In the beginning of the next month, Blake having orders to sail northward, and destroy the Dutch herring-fishery, Sir George Ayscue was left commander in the Downs ; and within a few days after took five sail of Dutch merchantmen : these he had scarce brought in, before he received advice, that a fleet of forty sail had been seen not far from the coast ; whereupon giving chase, he fell in amongst them, took seven, sunk four, and run twenty-four on the French shore, all the rest being separated from their convoy.

William Lilly, in his almanack for 1653, relates the following particulars : "In July 1652, Sir George Ayscue took, sunk; and dispersed, "thirty-six ships of the Dutch : for you must understand," continues he, "this gallant man doth all his actions in good and hearty earnest "for this commonwealth. I hope he will prove a worse terror to the "Dutch than Drake to the Spaniards."

This was a very gallant action, considering that he had with him only the squadron he brought from Barbadoes. In Sir George's account of this action to the parliament, he observes, that running the Dutch ships on the French shore, was equivalent to sinking or burning them : for tho' the French vigorously defended them from the English ships which pursued them, yet the former afterwards went on board the Dutch, and plundered them without mercy.

The Dutch admiral Van Trump, who had a considerable fleet at sea, having received intelligence of Sir George's situation, resolved to take advantage of it, and with no less than one hundred sail lay in between him and the river, and surprize such ships as should attempt to go out ; or, if that failed, to go in and sink Sir George's squadron. The English admiral soon discovering their intention, caused a signal to be made from Dover castle, for all ships to keep to sea, and by this means he defeated the first part of their scheme. Van Trump, however, attempted the second part, in hopes of better success ; for on the 8th of July, at ebb, he began to sail towards the English fleet ; but the wind dying away, he was obliged to anchor about a league off, till the next ebb : in the mean time, Sir George ordered a strong platform to be raised between Deal and Sandown castles, and well provided with artillery, which were so pointed as to bear directly on the Dutch as they came in. The militia of Kent were also ordered down to the shore, to receive the enemy with their small arms. Notwithstanding all this preparation, the Dutch admiral did not desist from his purpose, but at the next ebb weighing anchor, would have stood into the port ; but the wind coming about south-west directly in his teeth, constrained him to

keep out ; and being straitened in point of time, he was obliged to sail away, and leave Sir George safe in the harbour with his little squadron. Sir George next proceeded to join Blake in the northern seas, where he continued during the best part of September, and took several prizes. Towards the close of the month he returned with general Blake into the Downs, with one hundred and twenty men of war. On the 27th, a large Dutch fleet appeared, upon which Blake sailed with his ; and Sir George, in obedience to the orders he received, returned to Chatham with his own ship, and sent the rest of his squadron into different ports to be careened.

It does not appear that the parliament openly expressed any dislike at Sir George's behaviour in coming home, but, on the contrary, shewed him all the respect imaginable ; though some of his friends informed him, that this was in appearance only, since they could not help expressing a dislike to the terms he granted lord Willoughby, which they looked upon as the second part of Sir John Greenville's busness, for which they had been so angry both with Blake and him.

This, however, Sir George bore without any visible signs of discontent, declaring that he had done what he took to be his duty, and would continue to act in the same manner, while he had any commission in the English fleet, without troubling himself about the humours of particular men, whom, after all his endeavours, he might find it, perhaps, impossible to please. While such heart-burnings subsisted on both sides, an occasion offered from which all parties might be satisfied.

It happened that, towards the end of November 1652, general Blake lying at the mouth of the river Thames, began to consider that the season of the year did not leave any room to expect any further action ; on which account he detached 20 of his ships to convoy up a fleet of coalliers from Newcastle, having sent twelve more to Plymouth ; and Sir George, as has been before mentioned, with fifteen sail, had proceeded up the river in order to careen. In this situation stood matters, when Van Trump appeared with a fleet of eighty-five sail. Upon this Blake sending for the most experienced officers on board his own ship, after a long consultation it was agreed, that he should wait for and fight the enemy ; though he had but thirty-seven men of war, besides a few small ships. Accordingly, on the 29th of November, ensued a general engagement, which lasted with great fury, from one in the afternoon till dark ; Blake in the Triumph, with his two seconds, engaging for a considerable while near twenty of the enemy's ships, and was in danger of being overpowered by such unequal numbers. This, however, did not hinder Blake from forcing his way through a throng of the enemy, in order to assist two of his own squadron, being in this attempt attacked by many of their stoutest ships, which also boarded him ; but, after several times beating them off, he rejoined his fleet. For further particulars consult Blake's life. At last night having parted both fleets, Blake imagining that he had sufficiently secured the nation's honour and his own, by wait-

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ing for the attack of an enemy so much superior to him in numbers, and seeing no probability of advantage by renewing the fight, thought proper to retire up the river : but Sir George, who was inclined to the bolder, though perhaps less prudent counsel, was so disgusted at Blake's retreat, that he laid down his commission.

This circumstance is taken from the Dutch accounts ; for the English historians mention not a syllable of Sir George's being in this engagement ; but, at the same time, acknowledge that Blake retreated, as sensible of the loss he had sustained, and the too great superiority of the enemy.

On the next day, which was the 30th, Trump sent into Harwich and Yarmouth, to look for the English fleet ; but they had retired first to Dover, and then up the river, where they were safe. In the mean time, the Dutch admiral plying between Calais and Dungeness, was so elated with his late success, that he failed with a birch broom in his main-top, as has been elsewhere mentioned, to denote that he had swept the seas clean of the English.

This Sir George foresaw, and the very apprehension of it made him resolve to quit the service : for he was a man of such undaunted courage, that he knew not how to submit to cross accidents ; and would sooner submit to a voluntary death, than expose his country to the loss of any credit by his miscarriage.

The services which this great man had rendered his country, were none of them so acceptable to the parliament as this act of laying down his commission. They had long wished and waited for an opportunity of dismissing him from their service ; and therefore were extremely pleased that he had saved them the trouble : however, in acknowledgment of past services, and to prevent his being absolutely discontented, they voted him a present of three hundred pounds in money, and also bestowed on him a like sum annually in Ireland.

One reason, at this juncture, inclined the parliament, the more readily, to part with this excellent officer, and it was this : they began to discern Cromwell's intention of overturning them, and setting up a new form of government by the power of the army, which they saw he had gained, by putting in creatures of his own. In order, therefore, to get the better of this design, they formed a very extraordinary project, namely, to new-model the army, by sending such of the regiments as they suspected most, to serve on board the fleet ; and, in order to make this scheme prove the more successful, they thrust in great numbers of land-officers to command their fleet ; and, to make way for these, they suffered Sir George Ayscue, and some others, to quit that service : but in this they strangely over-reached themselves ; for Cromwell seeing that no time was to be lost, and that by this step they had equally disengaged the seamen, and alarmed the army, pushed on his design with greater eagerness, and, by artfully managing both parties, (who, though they equally wished ill to the parliament, least of all intended the setting him

him up), deceived, and at last got the better of them all ; while the officers of the fleet being fully employed in the Dutch war, thought themselves obliged to serve their country to the best of their power, notwithstanding this change of government, which, tho' they did not relish, they could not remedy.

We have good reason to believe, that Cromwell and his creatures were as well pleased with Sir George's quitting the sea-service ; for as they were then meditating what they soon afterwards brought to bear, namely, to turn the parliament out of doors, it could not but be agreeable to them to see an officer, who had so great credit in the navy, and was so universally esteemed, laid aside in such a manner, as not only gave them an opportunity of insinuating the ingratitude of that assembly to so worthy a person, but also freed them from the apprehension of interrupting their measures, had he continued in the fleet, which probably might have happened, considering that Blake was far enough from being of their faction, and only submitted to serve the protector, as he saw no other way left of serving his country ; and besides, he did not think he had interest enough to preserve the fleet, after the defection of the army, which perhaps might not have been the case, had Sir George continued in his command.

This is the more probable, as it is certain, that after the great change brought about by Oliver, in April 1653, Sir George never entered into the protector's service, or shewed himself at all willing to concur in his measures, though without doubt Cromwell would have been very glad of having so experienced an officer in his service, while he was engaged in the Spanish war.

Sir George after this retired to his country-seat in Surrey, with a settled resolution of living in an honourable privacy, and of never concerning himself further with public affairs ; and this is the reason that we never meet with him in the councils of state, or any other of the new schemes of government, which were afterwards successively set up.

Though this conduct of Sir George's, with regard to the public, was not perhaps justifiable on the strict principles of patriotism, yet it was in conformity to that of the ablest men in the kingdom, who both thought and acted in like manner, till they afterwards had an opportunity of entering into the public service, when the government was better established, and stood on a more legal foundation.

A particular reason might induce Sir George to act in the manner he did ; and this was, that he had never meddled in any of those dark designs by which the government was overturned, nor been employed as an instrument in any of the violent measures practised for that purpose. So that in this rural recess he had very little or nothing to fear from new changes, but might be truly said to have all things to hope from them.

At his seat he lived in great honour, visiting and being visited by persons of the highest distinction, both natives and foreigners, and passing in the general opinion for one of the ablest sea-captains of his age.

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Some reason we have to believe, that he had a particular correspondence with the protector's son Henry, as appears by a letter, still existing, from him to secretary Thurloe, which shews that he had a very just notion of Sir George's worth, and of the expediency of consulting him in all matters of a maritime nature. The letter is as follows: "Sir, This inclosed paper was presented to me by a person of worth here, who desired it might be communicated to you, and that you would hear Sir George Ayscue (if you think there is any thing worthy of your notice) more particularly about it; and also I make it my request, that you would hear him as to other things, and make what use thereof you think fit." Dublin, Nov. 14, 1655. H. Cromwell.

The protector, towards the end of his life, was dissatisfied with the Dutch, on account of the share they had taken in the affairs of the north, where they had espoused the king of Denmark's cause, to a degree of partiality, and were projecting the entire suppression of the power of the Swedes. This by no means agreed with the protector's plan, with regard to foreign policy; and therefore he resolved, as ill-brooking any disappointment in his views, to destroy this system of the Dutch, and yet without breaking immediately with them. In this view he encouraged the Swedish nation to cultivate a maritime force, promising in due time to furnish them with a sufficient number of experienced officers, and also an admiral to command them, who, in point of reputation, would be no whit inferior to any then living.

It was on this occasion that he cast his eyes on Sir George Ayscue. But not caring to deal directly with a man who had declined acting under his government, and never frequented his court, he resolved that the proposition should come to him from the Swedish ambassador, Mr Peter Coyett, who had been knighted by the protector, with whom the lord keeper, Whitlock, was sent, in order to introduce him to the admiral at his country-seat.

From Whitlock's own authority it appears, that a treaty had been concluded on the 17th of the preceding month, with the Swedish minister, in which Whitlock was a commissioner, the rather as he had been ambassador from the parliament of England in Sweden, where he had been very well received; and, as a proof of his respect for that nation, he undertook, before the ambassador's departure, to carry him to dine with Sir George Ayscue.

Whitlock has preserved part of the conversation which passed in this interview between them, relating to public affairs: and as it is very curious, it may not be unacceptable to the reader to see it in his own words.

"August the 13th, 1656, the ambassador of Sweden dined at Sir George Ayscue's house in Surrey, where they had a noble entertainment. The house stands environed with ponds, moats, and water, like a ship at sea; a fancy fitter for the master's humour, who is himself so great

" great a seaman. There, he said, he had cast anchor, and intended to spend the rest of his life in a private retirement.

" The ambassador understanding the abilities of Sir George in sea-affairs, found many questions to demand, and had much discourse with him concerning our English frigates : he was very inquisitive to know of Sir George, whether he esteemed them the best of any sort of ships for fight. Sir George answered freely, that he did not esteem them the best ships for fight, but held the old-fashioned English ships, of the biggest rate, best for fight ; and being asked the reason, said, because they were stronger than the frigates, would endure the shaking of their own guns, and the blows of the enemy, better than the frigates could, and were firm, and like castles in the sea, and not so easy to be boarded as the frigates, being higher built.

" The ambassador replied, that they themselves could not so easily board another ship, being so high built. Sir George answered, that when they came to boarding, they that assailed had not so great a trouble of going down their own ship, as the going up their enemy's ; and the high building was no hindrance to their boarding of another, but was the better defence for themselves. The ambassador also objected, that they could not so easily come about, and fetch up another ship, as the frigates could. Sir George answered, that they could easily enough tack about upon any occasion in fight, but confessed that they could not so soon fetch up another ship, nor take or leave, as the frigates could, which, he said, was rather an inducement to cowardice than courage : and some captains, when they knew they could leave an enemy as they pleased, would engage in the fewer blows ; whereas the old built ships must stand to it, and the men knowing that there was no running away, would have the better mettle to fight it out. The ambassador asked, which would last longest, the ships built after the old fashion, or the frigates ? Sir George answered, that the old buildings were more strong and substantial than the building of the frigates, which were made long and light for sailing, and therefore could not last so long as the other ; and they carrying many guns, and being thus made, their own guns did much shake, and wear them more than the guns of the other did. They had much discourse of this nature, which added much to the entertainment."

This interview had the desired effect ; for Sir George from that time began to entertain a favourable opinion of the project, and brought himself by degrees to approve of the proposition made him ; so far, at least, as not only to think of quitting the retreat which he had chosen, but even of accepting the offer, and going over to Sweden for that purpose. But as vast projects move slowly, and much time is required for carrying them into execution ; so we find that Sir George Ayscue had not brought

brought himself absolutely to comply with this design before the death of the protector.

Yet that did not prevent his closing at last with the proposals which were made him from Sweden, and preparing every thing necessary for his journey thither, towards the close of the year 1658.

But as such an affair could not be put in execution, without making some stir, and consequently raising public discourse on that head, so it wrought such an effect on the Danish minister then residing here, that he wrote to Mr secretary Thurloe in very strong terms on the occasion, at the same time insinuating some general reflections on Sir George's character.

It is to be remarked, that this minister from Denmark, though he seems to have been sensible of the design, did not complain during the protector's life; but as soon as he saw Richard invested with his father's title only, and not his power, he addressed himself to secretary Thurloe in the following singular epistle, both as it plainly shews how little kindness its author had for Sir George, and how much he stood in fear of him.

"Talk has been these many months, that Sir George Ayscue, and "ten or twelve sea captains were to take service under the king of Swe-
"den, which I would not be induced to believe, thinking the said Ays-
"cue could not turn a mercenary soldier of another prince, whilst the
"war in his own country lasted, if he could not be satisfied with that
"wealth and honour he has gotten, and live a retired and quiet life.
"But I have been deceived in my opinion, and find, that certainly he
"and the said captains are to depart in a few days, they to command
"each a man of war, and Sir George the whole Swedish fleet; where-
"with I have thought it my duty to acquaint your lordship, in hope
"his Highness will think it convenient to stay his and their journey, as
"judging it more expedient, that his subjects should rather assist the
"king my master, than in the service of the king of Sweden help to
"oppress him: and this I think would also conform to the sense of the
"article of that treaty concluded between his late Highness of immortal
"memory, and the king my master, to the effect following, *viz.* 'So
"that no part of the people, or subjects of the one or the other, either
"by themselves or by others, directly or indirectly, shall either do, or
"as far as in their power lies, permit to be done, any damage or pre-
"judice to the other, but shall to each other render all sorts of good
"offices, and promote one the other's advantage as much as in them
"lies.' I rest, &c. Simon Petkum, Covent-garden, September the
"twenty-seventh, 1658."

This letter however had no effect either in procuring any interposition of the state for the prevention of Sir George's design, or obliging him to alter his resolution. On the contrary, as soon as the officers were embarked, and he had settled some private busines of his own, he prosecuted his voyage, though in the midst of winter. By this means he was

exposed to great hardships, which he sustained with unshaken firmness, and on his arrival in Sweden was received with all imaginable marks of respect by the king, who probably might have made good his promise of promoting him to the rank of high-admiral of Sweden, had he not been taken off by a sudden death.

The grounds of this expedition will appear from the following succinct account of it. The Swedish monarch who invited Sir George into his dominions, and was firmly attached to England, was Charles Gustavus, who in 1654 came to the throne on the resignation of queen Christina, daughter of the famous Gustavus Adolphus, and soon after engaged in a war with Poland, by reason that the then reigning monarch of that kingdom had opposed his accession on account of his hereditary right to the crown of Sweden, and in a very little time over-run the greatest part of Poland, forcing the king of it to fly for shelter into Silesia.

This war, which lasted during all the life-time of the Swedish monarch, and was the sole business of his reign, terminated in a manner different from that in which it begun. For the Poles foreseeing that the conquest of their country would raise his Swedish majesty many enemies, absolutely refused to make peace with him, though he was then in possession of Cracow, and Warsaw, and the greatest part of the kingdom, and themselves were constantly beaten in every engagement. Though in the beginning Charles was at peace with all his neighbours, yet his rapid conquest of Poland first induced the emperor of Germany, who dreaded this accession of power to a Swedish prince, to grant succours to Casimir king of Poland; then the Muscovites invaded Livonia, and next the Danes broke with him, in hopes of recovering what they had lost to his predecessors; and though in the beginning Brandenburg was his ally, yet that elector afterwards joined with his enemies; and prince Ragotski of Transylvania, who also at his instance had invaded Poland, was called home, by the Turks entering his country, and in the first battle he fought with them was killed on the spot.

The king of Sweden, notwithstanding all these changes to his disadvantage, continued the war, and even with success, particularly against the Danes, which drew the Dutch into the quarrel, out of regard to their own interest, being persuaded, that if Charles succeeded in his designs, he would exclude them from the trade to the Baltic. In consequence of this, they sent a strong fleet to the assistance of Denmark.

This measure of theirs greatly offended the protector Oliver, who had always maintained a strict friendship with Sweden, which he would willingly have assisted with a strong fleet, could he have done it without breaking with the Dutch, for which his affairs were not then ripe. This put him on sending twenty experienced officers to command the Swedish ships, and encourage Sir George Ayscue to enter into the same service, upon a proposal the king made, of declaring him admiral; and had this scheme succeeded in his life time, he doubtless would have sent a stout English squadron to second it. His son Richard might probably intend

to have pursued the same measures, and with this view he ordered admiral Montague, with a numerous squadron to sail for the Sound; but the long parliament resuming the supreme authority, sent instructions to that admiral to join the Dutch.

While these things were transacting, king Charles was actually become master of most of the Danish territories, and even laid siege to Copenhagen, which the Dutch relieved by beating his fleet. Upon this he turned the siege into a blockade, which he continued in spite of the Dutch.

It was at this juncture that Sir George arrived, who at first gave king Charles hopes of some assistance from England, but this quickly vanished by reason of the revolution just now mentioned. However, Sir George continued in great credit with his majesty, and attended him to Gottenburgh, where the king being seized with a malignant fever that then reigned in that place, after a few days illness died, which put an end to Sir George's hopes in that country, and determined him to return home, where in his absence a great change had been working, namely to restore Charles II.

It does not appear that Sir George had any hand in this affair, but rather the contrary may be presumed from his attachment to the parliament, and his chusing to have remained in Sweden, had not the king's death prevented it.

On his return, however, he not only submitted to the establishment at that time, but gave the strongest assurances to the administration that he should be always ready to serve the public whenever occasion offered; upon which Sir George had the honour to be introduced to his Majesty, and to kiss his hand.

It was not long before he was called to the performance of his promise; for the war with the Dutch breaking out in the year 1664, he was immediately put into commission by the duke of York, who was then commander of the English fleet.

In the spring of 1655, Sir George Ayscuer hoisted his flag as rear-admiral of the blue, under the earl of Sandwich, and in the great sea-fight, on the third of June in the same year, that squadron broke through the centre of the Dutch fleet, and by that means made way for one of the most glorious sea-victories ever obtained by this nation; for the Dutch had ten of their largest ships either sunk or burned, besides admiral Opdam's which blew up, by which accident the admiral himself and upwards of five hundred men perished. Eighteen men of war were taken, four fireships destroyed, thirteen captains, and two thousand and fifty private men made prisoners; and all this with the loss only of one ship and three hundred men.

As it required some time to refit the English navy after so warm an action, the Duke of York, who commanded the fleet in that engagement, returned to London, but not before the King came on board the Royal Charles at the Bouy of the Nore, where he knighted the several officers

who had distinguished themselves in the late action, and made a grand naval promotion.

The fleet being again in a condition to put to sea, was ordered to rendezvous in Southwould bay, from whence to the number of sixty sail they weighed July the fifth, and stood over for the coast of Holland, under the command of the gallant earl of Sandwich, to whom Sir George Ayscue was vice-admiral, besides many other experienced officers.

The design they went upon was to have intercepted de Ruyter in his return, or at least to have taken and burned the Turkey and East-India fleets; but in neither of these schemes they succeeded; for de Ruyter returned unexpectedly by the North of Scotland, and arrived safe in Holland. The Turkey and India fleets intended to have taken the same route; but receiving intelligence at sea that this would prove very difficult, they took shelter in the port of Berghen in Norway. The earl of Sandwich, having detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman his rear-admiral to attack them there, in his return home took eight Dutch men of war, which served as convoys to their East and West India fleets, besides several merchantmen richly laden; and this finished the triumphs of that year.

The superiority of the English over the Dutch engaged the French to declare for the weakest, as did also Denmark: but all this had no effect in damping the spirit of the English, who in the spring of the year 1666, had their fleet very early at sea, under the joint command of prince Rupert and old general Monk, now duke of Albermarle, having many gallant and prudent officers along with them, among whom Sir William Berkley commanded the blue squadron, and Sir George Ayscue the white. The English fleet, upon a report falsely spread that the French were coming out to assist the Dutch, sailed about the beginning of May, when prince Rupert was ordered by the court to sail with the white squadron, the admirals excepted: but he found this a groundless bravado, the French having really no such intention. At the same time prince Rupert sailed from the Downs, the Dutch put out to sea with a fresh gale, which brought the latter on the coast of Dunkirk, and carried his Highness to the isle of Wight; but by the wind suddenly shifting and blowing hard, both the duke of Albemarle and the Dutch came to an anchor. Upon the first discovery of the enemy by captain Bacon, it was resolved in a council of war to fight them, notwithstanding their great superiority; the fight was renewed by the English for two days successively, when the Duke finding that the Dutch had received a reinforcement, resolved on the evening of the second day to retire, and endeavour to join prince Rupert. This retreat he performed in good order, and the Dutch followed, but at a distance.

As they thus sailed, it happened on the third day, that Sir George Ayscue admiral of the white, who commanded the Royal Prince (being the heaviest ship of the whole fleet) struck on the sand called the Galloper, as did several of the principal ships, particularly the Duke in the Royal Charles;

Charles ; "but all," says Dr Skinner in general Monk's life, "had the good fortune to get off again, only Sir George's ship was so deeply stranded, that it was not possible to bring her off, but she became a prey to the enemy, where admiral Ayscue himself was taken prisoner ; the Dutch having also in vain attempted to get her off the sands.

" This unfortunate striking of so many of our ships," continues Skinner, "gave the Dutch so great an opportunity of destroying the duke of Albemarle's fleet, that they never would forgive the commanders, who made no greater advantage of it, where all might have been lost, if the enemy had been brave enough to attempt it."

Rear-admiral Sweers, by order of Tromp, went on board the English ship, and brought off Sir George Ayscue, his officers and some of his men; and next morning Sir George was sent by de Ruyter to the Dutch coast, in order to go to the Hague in a galliot, from an apprehension that he might be retaken in the next day's fight.

The French account published by order of that court, informs us of a circumstance omitted by the Dutch, namely that the crew gave up the ship contrary to the intentions of the admiral, who had given orders for setting her on fire.

Some other circumstances made the loss of this ship above-mentioned very disagreeable to the English court. For the Royal Prince was the largest and best built ship in the royal navy, she carried 92 brass guns, 620 men, and the vessel was in the best condition possible ; but the circumstance for which the loss of her was most regretted was, that she had been the ship in which the king came from Holland at his restoration.

On Sir George Ayscue's arrival at the Hague, the States, to raise the spirits of their people and make the most of this dubious sort of victory, ordered him to be carried as it were in triumph through the several towns of Holland, and then confined him in the castle of Louvestein.

As soon as Sir George came to this castle he wrote a letter to King Charles II. which is still preserved in de Ruyter's life ; but from several particulars in it we have reason to suspect that it is either entirely forged, or at least altered to serve the purposes of the Dutch.

How long he remained at this castle, or whether he continued a prisoner to the end of the war, is what cannot be positively determined ; but it is generally said that he afterwards returned to England, and spent the remainder of his life in peace and quiet.

THOMAS CAVENDISH.

Thomas Candish, or Cavendish, of Trimly, near Ipswich, was a gentleman of an ancient family, and considerable fortune. His vicinity to a town at that time a mart of great trade, had given him an early inclination for the sea. He was of an open, liberal, and even expensive, if not a profuse disposition, setting no value upon money, but as it was necessary to his pleasures. Some writers affirm, that the decline of his fortune had first inspired him with the notion of repairing it by an application to maritime affairs. Others, again, are no less positive that he had a natural propensity to this employment; which as soon as he was of age, he gratified by converting part of his lands into money, and equipping a ship of 120 tons, called *the Tyger*, at his own expence. Certain it is, that with this ship he accompanied Sir Richard Grenville to Virginia, A. 1585, and that he surmounted many dangers and difficulties in this voyage, but without any profit.

Not discouraged with this rub of fortune, he deliberated, and soon prepared for, a greater and more hazardous enterprise. In his voyage he had seen a great part of the Spanish West-Indies, made a number of curious observations, and conversed with some intelligent persons who had surrounded the globe with Sir Francis Drake. Upon these hints he formed a project for retrieving his fortune, gratifying his curiosity, and raising his reputation, if not equal to Drake's, at least second to none but his. As soon, therefore, as he returned, he applied himself diligently to every measure necessary to his great design. He either sold or mortgaged the remainder of his estate, to make up a sum sufficient for building two stout ships; and so expeditious was he, that in six months his little squadron was ready to put to sea. The largest ship, which he called *the Desire*, was burden 140 tons; the smaller, to which he gave the name *Content*, about 60 tons. To these he added a bark of 40 tons burden, all manned, completely provided and equipped for the voyage, solely at his own expence. On board he had 126 seamen and officers, some of whom had served under Drake, but all of them able-bodied, and men of experience. The fleet had stores for two years; and, to prevent all disputes, quarrels, and discontents, either on or after the voyage, Candish entered upon a fair agreement with respect to the proportion in which all prizes should be shared. He laid up magazines of journals, charts, draughts, and maps, of all those places and seas he proposed visiting. He also procured a commission from the Queen, by the favour of lord Hunsdon, then lord of the bed-chamber, and his patron.

All things being thus in readiness, he embarked at Harwich on the 10th of July 1586, and sailed with the *Desire* for Plymouth, there to join the rest of his squadron. From thence he proceeded on his expedition on the 21st, and fell in with a fleet of eight sail in the Bay of Biscay, one of which attacked the admiral. The engagement was sharp for about an hour, when the enemy was obliged to sheer off, though greatly superior in force to the *Desire*. Candish was prevented from giving chase by the darkness of the night, and the fear of losing company with his consorts. The 5th of August he got sight of the island of Fortiventura, and soon after arrived on the coast of Guiney. By this time the scurvy appeared among his men, which obliged him to set them on shore for their recovery as soon as an opportunity offered. On the 23d he fell in with Sierra Leona, where he destroyed a negro town, and lost one of his men by a poisoned arrow. His boat ran four miles up the harbour, returning with a cargo of fish and lemons. September the 7th he departed from one of the Cape de Verd islands, distant 10 leagues from Sierra Leona, and by the 1st of November got to the Brazil coast, sailing between the island St Sebastian and the continent. Here he cast anchor, landed his men, erected a forge, and built a pinnace. He sailed the 23d, and on the 26th fell in with the coast of America, in 47 degrees 20 minutes north latitude, running along a large steep shore, till he came under the 48th degree. Next day he fell in with a harbour which he entered, calling it, after the name of his ship, *Port Desire*. This harbour he found convenient on account of the ebbing and flowing of the tide, extremely commodious for cleaning, graving, and repairing ships. Here two of his men were wounded with an arrow made of cane, and pointed with flint, which the natives discharged at them. They are described as a rude, savage, and gigantic race, the footstep of one of them measuring eighteen inches. His whole description of this country coincides exactly with what Magellan relates, as shall be more particularly pointed out when we come to give an account of America. The editor of Harris's Voyages says, that the name Patagonia was given to this coast by Candish; which is a mistake, Magellan having before given it, from the extraordinary stature of the inhabitants, who are said to be five cubits, or seven feet and a half, in height.

December the 28th he left *Port Desire*, and anchored near an island three leagues to the southward, keeping along the coast south-west-by-fourth. On the 30th, in $48^{\circ} 30'$, about five leagues from land, he discovered a rock, which, for the benefit of future navigators, he describes distinctly. Still he kept coasting along the shore, amidst multitudes of seals and sea-calves, till the 3d of January, when he fell in with a white cape, from which runs a long beach about a league to the southward, stretching to the mouth of the Streights of Magellan. On the 6th he put into the streights, which he found five or six leagues wide in some places, but narrower in others. Next day he took a Spaniard, belonging

to the garrison of the Spanish fort, prisoner. From him he learnt, that of the whole garrison of Cividad del Rey Filipe, only 23 remained.

Candish describes the mouth of the streights in 52° south latitude; a stretch of 14 leagues to the narrowest pass; from thence to Penguin island 10 leagues, the course west-south-west, and a little to the south. At this island they anchored, and, having killed a great number of penguins, salted them for ship-provision. The 9th of January, Candish passed south-south-west of the largest Spanish settlement, which he found in a ruinous condition, the cannon dismounted, many of them buried, the houses deserted, and the church, with some handsome ornaments, left to be possessed by the birds and beasts. The garrison, after having struggled with cold, hunger, and every other misery, for the space of two years, living wholly upon shell-fish, and being at length reduced to the miserable remnant we have mentioned, retired to the small fort. Candish relates, that they were at perpetual war with the neighbouring Indians, the implacable enemies of the Spanish name. That, when their necessities obliged them to go in search of deer, the settlement, in the absence of the party, was presently attacked, and the party hunted like wild beasts through the mountains; often cut off from the garrison, and suffering the most extreme hardships and fatigues before they could return. Thus would they die, like rotten sheep, with pinching cold and insupportable hunger, the stench from their bodies so infecting the survivors, that with one consent the settlement was abandoned, and the soldiers rambled along the shore, the cruel sport of fortune, till, happily for them, they at length became prisoners to the English.

On the 14th, Candish made Cape Froward, in latitude 54 degrees, and the southermost land of the streights. After this he saw Elizabeth Bay, and two leagues further a fine river, in which he towed up the boat for three miles. The country, and banks of the river, were pleasant, plain, and open; the inhabitants a strong, well made, barbarous, and brutish race, who had eat up many a Spaniard. They had laid a plot for feasting upon the English, but were disappointed by the vigilance of the admiral, who saluted them with a brisk discharge of harquebusses, that did great execution. Leaving this river, he steered to St Jerom's Chanel, two leagues further. Hence he sailed westward about four leagues, to a cape lying north of the chanel, from which to the mouth of the Streights the course runs north-west and north-west-by-west. The distance from this cape to the entrance into the South-sea is 34 leagues, so that the whole Streights measure in length about 90 leagues. It is farther observable, that both openings into the South and North-seas are much in the same latitude, $52^{\circ} 4'$ south. For several days the fleet was forced to ly-to on account of storms of wind and rain, which burst with such violence from the mountains, that they were brought into extreme danger; nor were they less distressed with famine than by the inclemency of the weather, being prevented by this from ranging the country for supplies. One happiness attended them, that the coasts supplied convenient

venient harbours on both sides the streights, at almost every two miles distance.

At last, on the 24th of February, Candish entered the South-sea, observing on the south side of the opening a high cape, with a low point annexed to it, north of which were four or five islands lying about six leagues from the continent, and surrounded with sunk and broken ground. The first of March he lost company with the bark, in a storm that blew at night, lat. 49 degrees, and 45 leagues from land. The bark had sprung a leak, and was driven far to sea in the most distressed condition; however, by the vigilance and good conduct of the captain and crew, she joined the admiral on the 15th, between the island St Mary and the continent. The *Desire* and *Content* had sheltered themselves, during the storm, on the lee side of the island of Mocha, where some of their men, going on shore well armed, met with a warm reception from a body of Indians. They belonged to the district of Aranco, a country rich with gold, that had often tempted the avarice of the Spaniards, but to no effect, as they were constantly defeated by the obstinate bravery of the Indians. After this skirmish the admiral ran under the west side of St Mary Island, where he rode secure at six fathom water. It lies in $37^{\circ} 30'$ south latitude, and is well stocked with hogs, poultry, and a variety of delicious fruits. The inhabitants are in such abject slavery to the Spaniards, that they dare not touch the most trifling production of their own country without leave from the usurpers, thus starving in the midst of the most luxurious plenty. The admiral, going on shore with a party of seventy men well armed, was met and welcomed by two Indians of quality, who conducted them to magazines filled with hogs, poultry, dried fish, potatoes, and maize, or Guiney wheat. This courtesy the admiral returned by inviting them on board, where, after the wine had begun to work its effects, and they discovered he was not a Spaniard, they talked with great freedom; complained of the insolence, cruelty, and avarice, of that nation; telling him, that if he crossed the country to Aranco, the natives would grant that to his obliging manner which they had ever denied to the arrogant Spaniards, and put him in possession of the rich mines of their country. However, their intelligence was neither explicit, or well enough understood, for the admiral to venture with so weak a force upon an enterprize so dangerous. He knew he should have to encounter a numerous, warlike, and resolute nation, whose prejudices it would be difficult to remove, especially as their language was spoke by no one on board. He therefore prosecuted his voyage, leaving this place on the 18th, and, failing about 10 leagues that day north and north-east, he anchored under Conception Island. The 30th he came into the bay of Quinero, in $33^{\circ} 60'$ south; and the day following a party of sixty men, well armed, marched eight miles up the country. They met with large herds of cattle, with horses, dogs, hares, rabbits, partridges, and other fowl and game. After marching till they were tired, without meeting any extraordinary adventure, they

retired in good order to their ships, without being molested by the Spaniards, who, on receiving intelligence of their arrival, assembled in a body of 200 horse, but without venturing to attack them. Next day, however, while some of the English were busied in filling their casks with water, the Spaniards, seizing the opportunity, attacked them with a large body of cavalry that came pouring down from the hills. Their superiority in number enabled them to kill two or three, and to make an equal number of prisoners; but the arrival of fifteen more seamen soon altered the fortune of the day, snatched the victory from the Spaniards, killed 24 upon the spot, and obliged the rest to seek their safety in a precipitate and shameful flight. After this exertion of spirit, the English watered with security, scoured the country, and, after supplying themselves with every thing necessary, weighed anchor, steering north and north-north-west.

April the 5th, they fell in with Moro Moreno, lying in $23^{\circ} 30'$ south latitude, under the tropic of *Capricorn*. An island with a passage into the bay at each end forms a fine harbour here. The admiral, landing with 30 men, was met by great numbers of Indians bringing wood and water to the ship on their backs. They are a simple, ignorant people, living under the greatest awe and subjection to the Spaniards, who treat them with a savage barbarity. They conducted the admiral and his party to their huts, about two miles from the harbour. These habitations were composed only of a few rafters laid across, supported by forked poles stuck in the ground, and covered with leaves and boughs spread over them. The skins of wild beasts laid on the ground were their beds, and their food stinking raw flesh. It is usual, when any of them dies, to bury his effects with him, that is, his bow, arrows, and even his canoe, if he be worth one. Their canoes are neatly constructed, being formed of two skins resembling bladders, which are blown full at one end with quills. A couple of those being joined after their manner with thongs made of the hides, but more frequently the tendons and sinews of wild beasts, and then put into water, puff and swell to such a degree, that nothing can be more tight, compact, and firm. In these boats they put to sea in all weather, loading them with great quantities of fish, part of which is paid by way of tribute to the Spaniards, and the remainder suffered to stink for their own use.

Hoisting sail from hence, he arrives May the 3d in a bay, at the extremity of which are three small towns, Poracca, Chinca, and Pifcha, the latter standing in $13^{\circ} 20'$ south latitude. Here a party landed, and took some provisions out of the houses, as wine, fowls, figs, and other things. A high sea prevented their putting to shore at the last towns, where they could be plentifully supplied. About this time, though we are not told whether it was in this bay, the admiral made prize of two rich ships laden with sugar, molasses, maize, Cordovan skins, Montego de Porco Indian carts, marmalade hens, and packs of Pintadoes, &c. The richest would have yielded 20,000*L.* at a proper market; but here neither were

of any farther use than merely to supply the squadron with what they most wanted. This done, they set fire to the ships, and, steering their course for Paita, arrived in that road the 26th. The town lies in five degrees four minutes south latitude, containing at that time about 200 houses. Here the admiral landed with sixty men, had a skirmish with the inhabitants, drove them out of the town into the mountains, seized all the effects they had carried with them; and afterwards, upon their attempting to rescue the town, entirely defeated them. Here the seamen found abundance of household furniture, some of it rich; store-houses filled with all kinds of merchandize; and twenty-five pounds weight of silver in pieces of eight. After having plundered it of what they most commodiously could carry off, they set fire to the town, which they burnt to ashes, and with it to the value of 6000*l.* in merchant goods, and then departed for Puna.

On their arrival at Puna, they found in the harbour a ship of 250 tons burden, riding at anchor, which they sunk, and went on shore. The chief of this island was by birth an Indian, but married to a Spaniard, whose religion he embraced, obliging his subjects to follow his example. He had by the sea-side an elegant and well-contrived palace, with fine gardens extending along the coast, which made a grand appearance towards the water. All the inhabitants were kept in perpetual drudgery, making cabals, which is one of the best commodities of the island; yet does it abound with every necessary of life. In the gardens of the casique, or chief, was found plenty of the most delicate and luxurious fruits, in the utmost perfection. May the 25th, the admiral failed to a small neighbouring island, into which the casique had conveyed all his valuable moveables. This island the seamen plundered of what they thought proper, burnt the church, after having robbed it of its bells and ornaments. They were soon attacked by a party of 100 Spaniards, whom, after a sharp engagement, they defeated, with the loss of 12 English killed and taken, but of 46 Spaniards left dead on the field. Next day the admiral, landing with 70 men, was a second time attacked by 100 Spaniards armed with muskets and swords, and 200 Indians with bows and arrows, the usual weapons of the country. A fierce conflict ensued, which terminated in the entire defeat of the enemy, the spoiling of their fields and orchards, the burning of four ships on the stocks, the plundering, sacking, and total destruction of the town, which contained between 2 and 300 houses; an unnecessary and wanton act of severity, which has ever been the ruin of all our expeditions. The best settled island on all this coast, and perhaps the most pleasant in the Spanish plantations, was totally effaced, and reduced to rubbish, only to gratify the humour of the seamen, without drawing a single advantage from the miserable condition in which they left the industrious natives.

Weighing from hence, the squadron watered at Rio Dolce, and, on the 12th, passed the line, keeping a northerly course for the remainder of the month. On July the 1st they had sight of Nueva Espana,

being under lat. 10° north, and four leagues distant from the continent. On the 9th he took a ship of 120 tons, the most valuable prize he had yet made, in which was one Michael Sancius, a Marfeillian, and good seaman, whom the admiral appointed his pilot. This man gave the first hint of the Anna Maria, which the admiral afterwards took. The 26th the admiral came to an anchor in the river Capalita, after having taken a bark going to alarm the country. The same night he rowed in the pinnace with 30 men to Agatulio, which he burnt, together with the custom-house. The latter they plundered of 600 bags of anise, each bag worth 40 crowns; 400 bags of cocoas, which the natives use both for meat and money, every bag valued at 10 crowns (D). Harris says, that the town he destroyed was in 15° 40' N. lat and that he rowed back the same night to Agatulio; but he does not oblige us with its name. August the 24th, with a party of men, he went into the haven of Natividad, in the latitude of 19 degrees, where the Marfeillian pilot acquainted him he should meet with a prize; but she was failed before his arrival twelve leagues further, to fish for pearls. Here he burnt the town, took a mulatto, sent to give notice all over the coast of Nueva Galicia of the arrival of the English; destroyed two ships, of 200 tons each, upon the stocks; after which exploit he returned to his ships. The 26th he came into the bay of St Jago, where he met with fresh water, fish, and a quantity of pearls. Soon after putting into the bay of Malacca, he set out from thence with a party of 30 men, demolished an Indian town consisting of 30 houses, then retreated to the fleet.

On the 8th of September he came into the road of Chacalla, and next day defeated a party of 40 men with Sancius as guide, who returned with plantanes, oranges, and lemons, after having travelled two leagues through a woody, mountaneous country, without meeting with any other habitations than those of a few poor Spaniards, Portuguese, and Indians. Two of the former they carried off, the Spaniard being a carpenter. On the 12th he came to the island of St Andrew, where he met with great store of fowls, seals, and a kind of lizard called *Iquano*, which proved excellent food. Hence he went to the road of Massatlan, under the tropic of *Cancer*. There is a large river running into the bay, which abounds with a variety of fresh-water fish. On the coast they found some good fruit. In a little island two leagues distant they found some excellent spring water, upon digging about two feet in the sand, altho' it afforded not the least prospect of a relief so seasonable. The 14th of October he fell in with Cape Lucar, on the west side of California. Within

(D) These descriptions are proofs of the inquisitive and curious disposition of Cavendish, as well as of his sincerity. The caco's are like almonds, but less pleasant to the taste; they afford both meat and drink, at

the same time that they pass for money in trade, 150 being equal in value to a rial of plate. Every body knows that from them chocolate is made.

Within this is a large and commodious bay, called by the Spaniards *Aquada Segura*. Here he watered, and remained till the 4th of November, being detained by a westerly wind, and desirous of watching the Acapulco ship. This day, as he was beating up and down on the headland of California, one of his men from the tops descried a sail, which being signified to the crews of both ships, all things were joyfully prepared for action. They bore up with the ship, which they found to be the St Anne, of which Sancius had given intelligence, of 700 tons burthen. He immediately ran along-side, and some of the men boarded her; but were so warmly received, and hotly pressed, that they retreated with the loss of four men. Candish, unwilling to lose such a prize for one rebuff, renewed the attack with redoubled vigour, first pouring in his great and small shot till he cleared the deck, and then intended to board her; but a lucky shot between wind and water rendered this unnecessary. The enemy was forced either to sink or surrender; the latter of which being their choice, a white flag was hoisted, and the Spanish colours struck. This prize rewarded all the toil of Candish, having found in her 122,000 pezoes of gold, an immense quantity of rich silks, sattins, damasks, musk, with various kinds of other valuable merchandize, and all manner of provisions, as acceptable to the English at that time as any part of the cargo. He put the Spaniards to the number of 150 on shore, chusing a fruitful spot for them to live in, and supplying them plentifully with wine and provisions, the sails of their ship to build huts with, and every thing else in his power to compensate the necessity he was under of taking away their ship.

After this glorious acquisition of honour and wealth, the ungrateful business of distribution involved the admiral in difficulties from which nothing but his generosity and contempt of money could extricate him. Forgetful of the compact entered upon at their first setting out, quarrels and contentions, even to mutiny, arose in both ships, especially on board the *Content*. All, however, was compromised and settled by the candour and liberality of Candish, who made up all deficiencies out of his own proportion. Of the Spanish crew he retained two Japanese boys, a Portuguese who had been in China and Japan, and a Spanish pilot, perfectly skilled in all the parts between Acapulco and Nueva Espanna, thinking they might prove useful in his voyage. After giving a sum of money to the Spanish captain, arms and ammunition to defend himself against the Indians, he set fire to the galleon, destroying above 500 tons of rich merchandize with her, which he was unable to carry off. This great business ended, he determined to steer for England. Soon after he weighed from Puerto Seguro he had the misfortune to lose the *Content*, and, in her, the vice-admiral, who had staid behind in port after the *Desire* was under sail. He every hour expected she would again join him; he lay by, slackened sail, and took every precaution to meet with her, but all to no purpose. In 45 days he ran from Puerto Segura to the Ladrones, a stretch of 1800 leagues. On January the 3d he had sight of

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the island of Guam. Here he was met by 60 canoes filled with savages, and loaded with cocoas, plantanes, potatoes, and fresh fish, which they bartered for bits of old iron, and other things of equal value. After the traffic was ended, and the goods delivered on both sides, they crowded so close to the ship, that two or three canoes were broke in pieces, tho' none of the crews drowned. They still continued round the ship; nor would they part company till the admiral ordered the harquebusses to be discharged, being apprehensive of their having some design upon the ship. Notwithstanding they were large fat men, so expert and active were they in diving, that the journalist questions whether any of them were hurt by the shot. It was amazing with what agility they leapt into the water, and returned to their canoes as soon as they apprehended the danger was over. Their canoes were neatly made, considering they were not wrought with iron tools. They were seven or eight yards in length, and half a yard broad, their heads and sterns shaped in the same fashion. The starboard side was made of rafts and reeds; their masts of bamboo or cane, and their sails of fedge, under which they fly either before or against the wind with incredible velocity.

The 14th he got sight of the Cape de Spirito Santo, or headland of the Philippines, distant from Guam 110 leagues. The same day he entered the freights between the islands Luan and Cambaia. The next day he anchored in a bay in the island of Capul, where a canoe, with one of the casiques, or chiefs, rowed along-side of the ship. The English passing themselves for Spaniards traded with the natives for roots and fruits. They were all naked, and the casique's skin painted over with some monstrous figures. He came on board the ship, and dispatched one of his attendants to invite his six colleagues to visit the admiral. They soon arrived, and with them a large train of hogs, fowls, and a whole market of cocoas and potatoes. Here the Spanish pilot taken out of the *St Anne* was hanged, for a plot he had contrived to betray the ship. As Candish lay off this island for nine days, he was furnished with many opportunities of making his remarks upon the manners and customs of the natives. Their religion is the grossest idolatry and paganism. They go naked, except a girdle with a small apron round the waist; and are of a tawny olive complexion. The rite of circumcision is almost universal among them; besides which the males undergo another operation hardly practised any where else but in Pegu. They perforate the glans of the penis with a slip of tin split in the lower end, and rivetted, which they take out occasionally. This custom had its rise, it is said, from an order of the magistrates, in order to prevent the frequency of a certain unnatural crime, to which the men of the island were greatly addicted. Just before his departure the admiral summoned all the casiques, with 100 of the chief inhabitants, to appear before him. He discovered himself, told them that both he and his men were English, and implacable enemies to the Spaniards, gave them in money the full value of the tribute they had paid to him as a Spanish admiral; and no less surprised them

them by the discovery than with his generous treatment. They admired his conduct and liberality so much, that they offered to assist him with all their forces not only against Spain, but against all the powers on earth; after which they took their leave, and the admiral weighed anchor.

On June the 24th, he ran along the coast of Manila, steering between that island and the island of Mafbat. They observed that the Spaniards kept a strict watch, by great fires on the hills, and the discharge of minute-guns for the whole night. The 29th, they passed the streights between Panama and Negro island. On the former of these the admiral landed a Spanish prisoner, with a message to the captain of a ship lying in the road. It importred a piece of advice to the said captain, to provide a sufficient quantity of gold against the admiral returned that way; and that he would now have weighed his Spanish gold in English scales, but for want of a pinnace large enough to land his men. After this bravado, he steered for the island Batochino, in one degree north latitude, continuing his course to Java Major, where he staid some days. Here he wooded and watered, the natives shewing him great civilities. They came with ten canoes deep-loaded with hogs, fowls, eggs, sugar, cocoas, and other kinds of fruit. Some Portuguese, who came on board to inquire after their king Don Antonio, gave the admiral a very explicit and distinct account of the manners, customs, laws, and government of the natives. Their king, at this time, was a man much respected, and who had acquired a dominion more absolute than any of his predecessors. His power extended so far over the liberty and property of his subjects, that the most common bargain could not be concluded without leave from him, or some of his officers. He had an hundred wives, and his son fifty. The fate of these, after the king dies, is very particular and extraordinary. Five days after the royal body is burnt, and the ashes laid in an urn, the dowagers assemble in an appointed place. The lady most favoured by the king in his life-time throws a ball, the spot where it rests being the place of the future tragedy. The women one by one go to the spot with drawn daggers in their hands, with which they stab themselves mortally, besmearing their bodies with the blood till they drop down dead; a barbarous sacrifice peculiar to this country, and as savage as extraordinary. The men in general are a bold, hardy, resolute people, that stick at no orders of their king, of whatever nature. Should he order them to plunge a dagger in their breasts, leap off a precipice, or perform any other the most desperate and unnatural act, they obey without reluctance, glorying in the sacrifice they make to duty and loyalty.

Having gratified his curiosity with respect to Java, the admiral steered directly for the Cape of Good Hope, spending the remainder of the month of March in traversing the vast ocean between Java and the continent of Africa, and making observations on the appearances of the stars, the weather, the winds, and tides, the bearing and position of lands, and other matters equally entertaining and useful. On the 16th of May he arrived

arrived at the Cape of Good Hope; the 9th of June he made St Helena; the 20th of August he had sight of the island of Flores, and arrived safe at Plymouth, after a terrible storm, on the 9th of September. We are told, that he made his entry into Plymouth harbour under silken sails, displaying his good fortune in the most magnificent and ostentatious manner. It is probable that the loss of sails he sustained in the late storm obliged him to make use of a silk grafts, a beautiful and shining manufacture, which the common people might mistake for genuine silk. Be that as it will, his vanity, if it was so, he supported fairly at his own expence. None of those who embarked with him had the smallest cause of complaint; on the contrary, the just, nay generous, distribution of the prizes he had made, gained him little less reputation than the fame of his voyage and the circumnavigation of the globe.

Nor was his gratitude inferior to his other qualities; for, on the day of his arrival, he wrote to his patron the lord Hunsdon, the queen's near relation, in terms so warm and obliging, in a style so uncommon and concise, and in a manner so expressive of his character, that we doubt not but the letter will be thought deserving of the reader's perusal.

" Right Honourable,

" AS your favours heretofore have been most greatly extended to
 " towards me, so I humbly desire the continuance thereof; and
 " though there be no means in me to deserve the same, yet the utter-
 " most of my services shall not be wanting, whensoever it shall please
 " your honour to dispose thereof. I am humbly to request your ho-
 " nour to make known to her Majesty the desire I have had to do her
 " Majesty service in the performance of this voyage; and as it hath
 " pleased GOD to give her victory over a part of her enemies, so I trust
 " ere long to see her overthrow them all: for the places of their wealth,
 " whereby they have maintained and made their wars, are now perfect-
 " ly discovered; and if it please her Majesty, with a very small power
 " she may take the spoil of them. It hath pleased the ALMIGHTY to
 " permit me to circumnavigate the whole globe of the world, entering
 " in at the Streights of Magellan, and returning by the Cape of Buena
 " Esperanza; in which voyage I have either discovered or brought cer-
 " tain intelligence of all the rich places of the world that ever were
 " known or discovered by any Christian. I navigated along the coasts
 " of Chili, Peru, and Nueva Espanna, where I made great spoils, sunk,
 " burnt, and destroyed, 19 sail of ships, small and great. All the villages
 " and towns that I ever landed at, I burnt and spoiled; and had I not
 " been discovered upon the coast, I had taken great quantity of treasure.
 " The matter of most profit to me was a great ship of the king's, which
 " I took at California; which ship came from the Philippines, being
 " one of the richest for merchandize that ever passed through those
 " seas, as the king's register, accounts, and merchants, did shew; for it
 " did amount in value to —— in Mexico, to be sold; which goods
 " for

" for that my ships were not able to contain the least part of them, I
" was enforced to set on fire. From the Cape of California, being the
" uppermost part of all Nueva Espanna, I navigated to the islands of the
" Philippines, hard upon the coast of China, of which country I have
" brought such intelligence as hath not been heard of in these parts;
" the statelins and riches of which country I fear to make report of,
" lest I should not be credited. For if I had not known sufficiently the
" incomparable wealth of that country, I should have been as incredu-
" lous thereof as others will be that have not had the like experience.
" I sailed along the islands of the Moluccas, where, among some of the
" heathen people, I was well entreated, where our countrymen may
" trade as freely as the Portuguese, if they will themselves. From
" thence I passed by the Cape of Buena Esperanza, and found out by
" the way homeward the island of St Helena, where the Portugals used
" to relieve themselves; and from that island God hath suffered me to
" return to England. All which services, with myself, I humbly pro-
" strate at her Majesty's feet, desiring the ALMIGHTY long to continue
" her reign among us; for, at this day, she is the most famous and
" victorious princeſt that liveth in the world. Thus humbly desiring
" pardon for my tediousnesſ, I leave your lordship to the tuition of the
" ALMIGHTY.

Your honours most humble

Plymoutb, this 9th of
September 1578.

to command,

Thomas Cavendish.

Such was the harmony in these golden days between the sovereign and the subject. The one offered his all, and the other accepted no more than the absolute exigencies of the state required.

This voyage must by the curious be esteemed of great value, on account of the accurate search and nice description Candish has given of the Straights of Magellan. His exact account of the Philippines was, in those times, of great importance; but, above all, his map and descriptions of China, which were much the best then known, and till the Dutch had made some considerable progress in this trade. The best judges, therefore, of this and other nations have bestowed the highest praises upon this gentleman, who shewed, through the whole voyage, the prudence and courage of a great officer, with the abilities and diligence of an able seaman. The success of this expedition must considerably have enlarged his fortune; but we are nowhere told the amount. Hackluit says it was sufficient to have purchased ‘a fair earldom;’ a general expression, from which no particular inference can be drawn. Whatever the sum was, certain it is, that his liberality and generous disposition rendered it necessary for him, in a few years, to meditate another expedition. He maintained, at a princely expence, all those persons whose experience could by any means improve his knowledge of maritime affairs; a public spirit greatly to be admired, and worthy of imitation,

tation, if not carried beyond the limits of prudence and oeconomy, necessary to keep a man easy in himself, and lastingly useful to his country. Hence it would seem, that he looked upon his voyage round the world only as an introduction to future attempts. In this light, what to many appeared to be profusion and extravagance, owing to a vain and ostentatious disposition, was really done by him with a view of laying the foundation of a more extensive fortune, in a way glorious to himself and useful to his country. By his will it appears that he died without debt, and possessed of very considerable effects, after all the expences he had been at, and the losses he sustained in his second attempt to pass into the South-seas.

The ships fitted out for this voyage were the *Leicester*, *Roe-buck*, *Desire*, *Dainty*, and *Black Pinnace*, all, as in the former expedition, equipped at his own expence. With this squadron he sailed from Plymouth on the 6th day of August, A. 1591, falling in with the coast of Brasil in November. Here he took the town of Santos, and burnt that of St. Vincent. From hence he continued his voyage to the Streights of Magellan, encountered by nothing but storms, disappointments, and misfortunes; various accounts of which are given. The most copious detail is by himself addressed to Sir Thomas Gorges, sole executor of his last will. Here he attributes his miscarriage to the desertion and villainy of Davis; he complains of dissensions, quarrels, and mutinies; of the southwest winds and winter storms, by which he was driven from shore to shore, with such snow and frost as he never before saw or felt. For these reasons he was obliged to return to the Brasils, where he sickened and died of grief. Thus ended the expedition and life of Sir Thomas Cavendish (for he was knighted after his return from his voyage round the world), which greatly affected maritime knowledge and the interest of seamen in general; many of whom were turned abroad in the world, and obliged for bread to offer their services to foreigners. After what has been said, it would be unnecessary to sum up the character of this great man, which was chequered with noble virtues and splendid vices; whose faults, at the same time that they impaired his fortune, and impeached his prudence, raised his reputation, were useful to merit, to science, and to his country.

Captain WILLIAM DAMPIER.

Captain William Dampier was descended of genteel parents in the county of Somerset, where he was born A. 1652. During the life of his parents he had such an education as was thought necessary to fit him for a trade; but losing father and mother at a very early age, his guardians finding him of a roving disposition, much inclined to the sea, resolved to comply with his humour. A. 1669, at the age of 17, he was bound to the master of a ship at Weymouth, with whom he made a trading voyage to France. The following year he went to Newfoundland; but, pinched with the severity of the climate, he returned to his friends, much cooled of that ardour he had shewn for the sea. Hearing of an outward-bound East-India ship from the Thames, his former eagerness recurred upon him, and he set out for London, entered himself on board the *John and Martha* as a foremast-man, and in her made a voyage to Bantam in the island of Java; by which he acquired great improvement and experience. After his return, he entered himself, A. 1672, on board the *Royal Prince*, commanded by that brave officer Sir Edward Spragge, and was in two engagements that summer against the Dutch. He fell sick before the third battle, in which Sir Edward fell; being put on board an hospital-ship, he was no more than a spectator. Residing after this at his brother's house, colonel Hillier, a gentleman of a large estate in Jamaica, persuaded him to accept of the management of his plantations. With this view he went to Jamaica in the spring of the year 1674, where he resided above a year; but disliking his situation, engaged himself among the logwood-cutters, at the persuasion of captain Hodsel. He embarked for Campeachy in August 1675, and applied himself diligently to his employment for the space of a year; when, after sustaining a variety of hardships, he returned with great difficulty to Jamaica. He soon after returned to Campeachy, better provided for the business, resided some time there, acquainted himself perfectly with the manner of cutting and trading in logwood, which enabled him to form some projects for the advancement of his fortune.

In Campeachy it was that he introduced himself to the acquaintance of the Buccaneers, and acquired the first notion of a life in which he was afterwards engaged, and of which, it is certain, he lived to be very much ashamed. Hence we may account for his passing over in silence many circumstances in his first voyage round the world, which we find mentioned by captain Cowley. The accounts given of those two circumnavigators are in fact but the journals of the same voyage, written by different persons. Dampier made his first tour round the globe with Cowley; but as his journal is by much the most entertaining, we have given it the

preference. Dampier arrived in England in 1678, and the year following set out for Jamaica, with intention to follow the logwood cutting and trading in the bay of Campeachy. This resolution he changed for that of purchasing a small estate; soon after which he engaged with Coxon, Hawkins, and Sharpe, all Buccaneers, with whom he went upon an expedition to Porto Bello. It would engross too much of our time to recite the various transactions through which he passed as a Buccaneer; sufficient it is that the resolution was at length taken of making a voyage into the South-seas, which it was not doubted would sufficiently repair their fortunes, shattered and broken with disappointments. Captain Cooke was the projector of this enterprize, to which Dampier and others readily acceded. In this voyage it was that Cowley acted in quality of master, although the true intention of the expedition was concealed from him. A French prize they had made was equipped for this voyage. They mounted her, according to Cowley, with eight pieces of cannon; but Dampier, with more probability, says with 18; it being unreasonable to suppose that, with eight guns only, they would undertake an expedition of hazard to the South-seas. These two officers differ no less in the number of the hands on board; the first calling it 52, but the latter affirming the crew amounted to 70 able-bodied men. Such was the force with which they sailed from Ackamack in Virginia on the 23d of August, A. 1683, steering directly for the Cape de Verd Islands. Here they staid some time, which gave Dampier an opportunity of examining the islands with accuracy, and giving a minute and exact description of them. From hence they steered to the Streights of Magellan, first touching on the coast of Guiney, at the mouth of Serborough river, where there was an English factory, south of Sierra Leona. On January the 28th, they made the three islands of De Weert, in $51^{\circ} 25'$ south latitude, where Dampier prevailed on the captain to anchor, apprehending danger in passing the Streights at that season of the year. The road, however, proving unsafe, and water being scarce, they weighed again, and by the first of February got sight of the Streights of Le Maire. With a stiff gale at north-north-west, they came within four miles of the entrance into the Streights, when they were becalmed, and found a strong tide setting out of the passage to the north; but whether it flowed or ebbed, they could, from the irregularity of the tide, form no judgment. They next held their course to the south, in order to sail round to the south of Cape Horne, the southermost point of Terra del Fuego. Passing through the Streights of Le Maire, they came up with a sail, which at first they took to be a Spanish merchantman bound from Baldivia to Lima, but found it be captain Eaton from London, bound also for the South-seas.

Having got safely through the Streights, they arrived on the 24th of March at Juan Fernandez, where their first inquiry was after a Musquito Indian the Buccaneers had left there about three years before. When captain Watling deserted him here, the Indian's whole stock consisted

fisted of a gun, a knife, and some powder and shot. He had frustrated all the endeavours of the Spaniards to take him; and such were his activity, his wiles, and his cunning, that they began to look upon him as the apparition of some corpse on the island. When his powder and shot were exhausted, he sawed his gun-barrel into small pieces, which he made into harpoons, hooks, and other instruments, without the assistance of forge, anvil, or tools, besides those he had made out of a hard stone. With the instruments he made he used to strike goats, birds, and fish, upon which he lived plentifully. His hut, about half a mile from the shore, was made of goat-skins, his bed and clothing of the same materials. When the ship came to an anchor, another Musqueto on board, discovering his countryman, plunged out of impatience into the sea, swam ashore, and embraced him with all the marks of tenderness and affection. Both melted away in tears in each other's arms, after which the banished Musqueto came to salute his old friends, entering again into their service with great cordiality.

Dampier describes Juan Fernandez very particularly: one observation he makes which we find in no other navigator. The goats, he remarks, that feed towards the west end of the island, are much fatter and better eating than those of the opposite extremity; yet in the last the grass is finer, and in greater plenty, the vallies equally well watered with sweet and pleasant brooks, and the whole circuit of the island but 12 leagues. Taking the fact for granted, we leave the phaenomenon to be explained by the naturalists and minute philosophers. After lying for fourteen days at anchor off this island, they set sail, in the words of Dampier, for the Pacific ocean, properly so called, being that part of the Mare de Zur extending, from south to north, betwixt 30 and 40 degrees south latitude. "Here," says he, "have I sailed for 250 leagues without any dark or rainy clouds, tempests, tornadoes, hurricanes, or any other winds except the trade winds. Yet the sea runs high at the new and full moon, and makes landing very unsafe. I have, however, frequently taken notice of heavy and foggy weather in the morning, so as to hinder the observation of the sun."

Continuing their course eastward, or rather north-east, to the line, in sight of the continent of America, Dampier remarked, that the vast tracts of land belonging to Chili and Peru were exceeding mountaneous; and that from 24 to 10 degrees south latitude it still exceeded the former in height, the mountains within the country overtopping those nearer the coast, and elating themselves into the clouds, far, in his opinion, beyond the celebrated peak of Teneriff. From hence he deduces the reason why but few, and those very small, rivers exonerate themselves into the sea, scarce any being navigable, and most of them dried up at certain seasons of the year. We must acknowledge, however, that we do not see the propriety of this deduction. All this while keeping company with captain Eaton, they descried a sail under latitude $9^{\circ} 40'$ south, to which Eaton gave chase. He soon took her, and found she was loaded with timber,

tumber, a commodity no-ways valuable to them in those parts. On May the 10th they anchored at the island Lobos de la Mare. Here they found nothing besides penguins in great abundance, and a species of blackbird which burrows at night in holes made in the sand. He describes the penguin, a sea-fowl about the size of a duck, with membranous feet, a down instead of feathers, and very short wings. They are common all over the South-seas, the coasts of Newfoundland, and the Cape of Good Hope. Upon examining the prisoners lately made, they found reason to imagine they had been discovered by the Spaniards, although they had used their utmost endeavours to keep out of sight from the coasts. Hence it was concluded that the Spaniards would lay an embargo on all the rich ships, to prevent their falling into their hands. This determined them to hazard an attack upon some place, which might compensate their disappointment of prizes. Truxillo, though a populous city, and of difficult access, was thought the most commodious; an attempt upon it was therefore resolved on. A muster was made of the crews, when they were found to amount to 808 sound men. But while things were getting in readiness for a descent, three sail of ships were discovered at sea, to which they gave chase. On coming up with them, they immediately struck; their lading consisting of flour going from Guanehagno to Panama. In one of them was found a letter from the viceroy of Lima to the resident at Panama, intimating, that, having intelligence of some enemies lately arrived in the South-seas, he had sent him a quantity of flour to relieve his wants, and enable the garrison to stand out a siege. The prisoners acquainting them likewise, that a fort was erecting at the mouth of the harbour of Guanehagno; a piece of intelligence that made them drop the attempt on Truxillo. Their next resolution was, to bear away for the Gallapago islands, of which they got sight May the 31st. Dampier observes, that the hydrographical charts have not placed these islands enough to the west; yet have almost all the charts since his time retained the former situation, placing them in 181° longitude, and extending to 176° , according to which the longitude from England west is 68° . The Spaniards, the first discoverers, lay down the Gallapagos extending from the equator to five degrees north; but Dampier says they stand under and on both sides the line. He could discover but 15 different islands, some of which were seven or eight leagues in length, and half as much in breadth. Four or five of those situated most to the east were rocky and barren, without trees, shrubs, herbs, or goats, excepting a little by the sea-side. In the Gallapagos, Dampier found the tree called the *dildo*, a species of shrub about the size of a man's leg, 10 or 12 feet high, without fruit, leaves, or any other excrescence than strong prickles from the top to the bottom. He found some fresh water in ponds, and in the cavities of rocks, but no natural springs. Some of these islands he describes to be low, flat, and fertile, producing many trees and shrubs well known in Europe. The islands lying to the west are large, and produce a variety of curious trees, particularly

particularly the tree called the *mammee-tree* remarkable for bearing an elegant kind of fig. These islands have also large rivers and brooks of fresh water, the sea breezes by day, and the land breezes by night, without intermission. Hence the air is purified, cooled, and refreshed, so as to make these islands more temperate and wholesome than most places so near the equator. When they approached the shore, they discovered a great number of tortoises sunning themselves at noon-day on the shore; upon these they fed during their stay. Dampier observes, that no part of the globe is so well stocked with guanoes and land-tortoises as the Gallapagos. The guanoes are fat, tame, and of an extraordinary size. The land-tortoises are so plenty, that an hundred men might live upon them a considerable time, weighing from 150 to 200 pounds, fat and delicate as a pullet. His description on this subject, being really curious, we will present it to the eaters of turtle in his own words: "The land-tortoises here measure from two feet, to two feet six inches, over the back; whereas in any other place I never met with them above 30 lb. weight, though I have heard it said, that at St Laurence, or Madagascar, there are also very large ones. One is by the Spaniards called *Hackatce*, which keeps chiefly in fresh water ponds. Their legs are small, necks long, their feet flat, and they commonly weigh betwixt 10 and 15 pounds. The second sort they call *Tenopen*, much smaller than the former, and of a rounder make; but, for the rest, not unlike them, except that the shell on the back is naturally coloured with a curious carved work. Both sorts afford very good meat, and these last delight in marshy and low places, and are in vast numbers on the Isle of Pines near Cuba, among the woods. The tortoises in the Galapagos islands are in shape like the first, with long necks and small heads; only they are much bigger. Upon the shoals there grows great plenty of turtle grass, which makes the channels between the islands abound in that kind of sea-tortoise commonly called the green-turtle. Of sea-tortoises there are four or five different sorts; the trunk tortoise, the loggerhead, the hawk's-bill, so called from its long small mouth. The trunk tortoise is bigger, and has a higher and rounder beak than the rest; but its flesh is neither wholesome nor well-tasted, any more than that of the loggerhead, which feeds on the moss of rocks, and borrows its name from its large head. The hawk's-bill, besides its mouth, is likewise the least of the three. It is this that bears the so much valued shell of which cabinets, boxes, combs, &c. are made all over Europe. Of this shell each has from three to four pounds, though some have less. The flesh is but indifferent, yet somewhat better than that of the loggerhead; though those taken betwixt the Sambelloes and Porto Bello occasion violent vomitings and purging in those that eat of them. It is further remarkable, that the flesh of the hawk's bill differs according to their food; for those that feed upon moss among the rocks have a much yellower fat and flesh, and not so well tasted, as those that feed on grass; besides, "their

" their shell is not so transparent. These hawk's bill tortoises are
" divers parts of the West-Indies, and have their peculiar islands where
" they lay their eggs, and seldom intermix with any other kind of tor-
" toises. However, these, as all other sorts, lay their eggs in the sand
" in the same manner. Their laying time is about May, June, and
" July, a little sooner or later; and they lay three times each season,
" eighty or ninety eggs at a time, round, of the bigness of a hen's egg,
" but covered only with a tough film or membrane of a white colour.
" In some of the bays on the north side of Jamaica the hawk's-bill
" turtles lay their eggs, as likewise on the bay of Honduras, and in divers
" places on the continent of America, from Trinidad to Vera Cruz, up
" the bay of New Spain. After a sea-tortoise gets ashore to lay, she is
" an hour before she returns, because she always chuses her place above
" high-water mark, where she makes a large hole with her fins in the
" sand, to lay her eggs in; which done, she covers them up two feet
" deep in the same sand she had raked out before. Sometimes they
" will take a view of the place before-hand, and be sure to return to the
" same next day to lay. They take the tortoises upon the shore in the
" night, when they turn them upon their backs above high-water mark,
" and fetch them away next day; but a large green tortoise will find
" work enough for two hearty fellows to turn her upon her back. The
" hawk's-bills are also found in the East-Indies, and on the Guiney coast,
" but I never met with any in the South-seas. The green tortoise de-
" rives its name from the greenish colour of the shell, which is better
" coloured than the hawk's-bill, but has a round and small head; and
" the body is of such a bulk, as to weigh from 200 to 300 pounds.
" Its flesh is accounted the best of any, though there is a considerable
" difference as well in the bulk as in the flesh. At Blanco in the West-
" Indies they are larger than any in the North-seas, weighing generally
" 250 or 300 pounds; their fat is yellow, the lean white, and both
" very good. But those of Boca Toro, to the west of Porto Bello, are
" neither so large, nor have so white or well-tasted flesh; and those found
" in the bay of Honduras and Campeachy are less than these, and their
" fat of a greenish colour. I was told, that at Port Royal in the bay
" of Campeachy, they catched one of these green tortoises which was
" four feet thick from the back to the belly, and six feet broad; a boy
" of ten years old went in the shell, instead of a boat, on board his fa-
" ther's ship, then at anchor a quarter of a mile from the shore. The
" fat of this creature yielded eight gallons of oil.

" The tortoises found on the little island of Cuba, on the south side,
" are some bigger, some less, and their flesh sometimes green, sometimes
" yellow. These are carried to Port Royal in Jamaica, where they are
" kept in weirs made with stakes. The green tortoises feed upon grass
" six inches long and a quarter of an inch broad, growing in four, five,
" and six fathom water. It is greatly different from the Manatees grass,
" which has a slender blade. The tortoises of the Galapagos are a
" bastard

a bastard kind of green turtle, their shell being thicker than the others, but their flesh not so good. Besides, they are much larger, and two or three feet thick, their bellies five feet broad. In the South-sea is another kind of green tortoise, no bigger than the small hawk's-bill. As they feed on mors, so their flesh is rank, though fat. Both these kinds differ from all the rest; for, whereas in other places the female only goes on shore, and that in the night-time; among those, both the male and female go together in the day, and retire together at night. Both are very fat at first; but when they are ready to return, they are lean, though the female not so lean as the male. It is the common opinion that they are nine days engendering, the male on the back of the female in the water. This is certain, that at that time he will not forsake her, who is more timorous, and often endeavours to get away; but that the male keeps her with his fins, so that if you strike the she, at their first coupling time, you are sure of the he. They are supposed to live many years, because they are a long time coming to their full growth.

In the South-seas, on the west end of the coast of Mexico, is another kind of green tortoises, much smaller than the rest, but their flesh well-tasted. There is one thing extremely surprising in all those creatures; that for three months, while they are laying their eggs, they forsake their usual places of resort, and seek others where they lay their eggs; and it is generally supposed that they neither eat nor drink all that season. The most noted places where they breed are, the island Caimanes in the West-Indies, and the Island of Ascension in the western ocean. No sooner is their coupling time over, than they are all gone; though it is certain they must swim a great way to come to either of these places, since it has been taken notice of, that all the above-mentioned tortoises have been found at Caimanes in breeding time. The nearest place from whence they can swim thither is the island of Cuba, about forty leagues distance. Those that breed at the isle of Ascension, coming from the continent, must swim at least three hundred leagues; it being certain, that their places of constant residence are always near the shore. Thus in the South-seas they go from the Galapagos to lay their eggs on the continent, above an hundred leagues thence. It is farther observable, that not all the tortoises leave their ordinary places at breeding time, but many remain there; and those that go are followed by great numbers of fishes, especially sharks, so that those coasts are left destitute of fish till they return."

Dampier, having staid twelve days here, acquaints us, that the ship then sailed, at the instance of a native of Rio Leja, to that place, which he affirmed to abound with riches. They took their course $4^{\circ} 40'$ latitude. With fair weather and favourable winds, they got sight of Cape Blanco, on the continent of Mexico, by the first of July. On the coast of the North-sea, captain Cooke, who had been confined to his bed from

their departure from Juan Fernandez, died, just as they were within a few leagues of land. Here Dampier observes, this is extremely frequent at sea, people often dying within sight of that very object which themselves and all about them believed would be their **cure**. While the men were busied digging a grave for him on shore, three Spanish Indians came up to them, and expressed an impertinent curiosity, which the ship's crew gratified in the manner most convenient, watching a fit opportunity to seize them; which accordingly was done, one of them however escaping before they got them on board. The others confessed they had come as spies from Nicoya, a small Mulatto town twelve leagues distant, which being a place convenient for refitting ships, the governor of Panama had sent advice to the admiral of the arrival of the English in those coasts. After a great deal of other intelligence, they added, that near this place was a beef pen, where the crew might provide themselves with as much beef as they pleased. This news being extremely grateful to the seamen, Dampier, with twenty-three more hands, went in two boats in quest of the booty. One of the Indians led them to the place, where they found a number of black cattle feeding. Some were for killing three or four immediately; others thought it better to wait till the next morning. Upon which Dampier, with eleven more, returned on board, expecting the rest to follow. Hearing nothing of them at four o'clock, the following afternoon a party was sent to look for them. The boat was no sooner come into the bay where they landed before, than Dampier saw his comrades upon a small rock half a league from shore, up to the waist in the sea, and almost perished with thirst and hunger. There they had taken refuge against a party of fifty well-armed Spaniards that had assaulted them, and must soon have been lost by the flowing of the tide, had not the long boat come so opportunely to their relief.

This transaction passed in the bay of Caldera, where, on the 19th of July, Mr Edward Davis, was elected captain in the room of captain Cooke, deceased. Next day, in company with captain Eaton, they steered for Rio Leja, where they arrived in three days. On their approach to the harbour, they took a canoe with three Indians, placed as a watch on the little island at the mouth of the harbour, to give notice of the English, of whose coming the governor was apprised. They observed at the same time on the continent a horseman riding full speed, probably to give intelligence of their arrival. Thus finding themselves discovered, the attempt of the town was laid aside, and they steered their course for the gulf of Amapalla. This gulf Dampier describes as a large branch of the sea, entering eight or ten leagues deep into the country. On the south side of its entrance is Cape Cafwina, and on the north-west St Michael's Mountain, at $12^{\circ} 40'$ north latitude. Between these lie two islands, Mangera and Amapalla, of a black, deep, and stony soil, producing large and lofty trees. The latter has two towns two miles distant from each other, both of them beautified by handsome churches.

Dampier

Dampier remarks, that, in all his voyages, here only he saw the hog-plumb-tree growing close to the shore.

Captain Davis being sent before with two canoes into the gulf, to procure, if possible, some prisoners, he landed at Mangeria, where he took an aged priest and two boys, who were unable to fly with the speed of the other inhabitants. These he made his guides to Amapalla, marching up with them to the nearest town. The inhabitants, who were assembled on the top of a hill, were ready to fly into the woods, but prevented by the secretary, an enemy to the Spaniards, who persuaded them that the English were friends, come to request their assistance against the common enemy and oppressors. Upon this, they bid Davis and his men welcome. After the first salutation, they proceeded to the church, the usual place of all public meetings, whether for consultations, mirth, or amusement. Here they keep their vizards, hautboys, strumstrums (a kind of cittern or guitar), and other musical instruments. They dance, sing, play, with antic dresses and gestures, the night preceding a holiday. Dampier observes, that their music has in it something melancholy, and expressive of the Spanish servitude under which they groan. When captain Davis found them all assembled, he endeavoured to excite them against the Spaniards, and was supported strongly by the priest. An accident, however, frustrated their endeavours; for, entering the church, a seaman happened to jostle an Indian, which the latter mistaking for a prelude to rougher usage, took to his heels, and was followed by all the rest of his countrymen. Captain Davis imprudently ordering his men to fire upon them, the secretary was killed, and with him ended the whole project. Davis returned to the ships, carrying along with him the priest, who advised sending for the casica, whose influence was the greatest now the secretary was dead. This accordingly was done, and that chief came, attended by six Indians, who did them considerable service in supplying the ships with beef and fresh provisions. Our author remarks, that some years after a company of English and French landed at Amapalla, and went from thence to the continent, marching by land to the Cape river. At the source of this river they made barcolongos, by which they passed into the North-seas. However, they were not the first discoverers of this passage, as Dampier observes; it having been found out by a party of English, who, thirty years before, went up the Cape river in canoes into the North-seas, and thence to an inland town called Segovia. This they effected not without incredible difficulty, and in no less than the space of a month, the cataracts obliging them to drag their canoes over large tracts of land. Dampier had often conversed with some of the men engaged in this expedition, and he imagines that captain Sharpe was of the number.

On the 3d of September 1684 they sailed for Amapalla, and arrived on the 20th at the island Plata, situated in $1^{\circ} 10'$ south latitude, having now fallen in with the place where our author begins his voyage, after encompassing the whole continent of South America. On the 30th of

October they doubled Cape Blanco, the most difficult point of land in the South-seas, the spring current setting at north-west preventing the ships from standing to sea. November the 2d they lay six leagues off Paita, sending their canoes manned with 110 men to attack the town. Next morning they landed early, and made some prisoners, from whom they received intelligence that the governor of Piara, with 100 men, had reinforced the garrison of Paita. The English, however, attacked a little fort on an eminence, and took it with little opposition, upon which the governor and inhabitants evacuated the town. The English soon entered it, but found it emptied of money, goods, and provisions. Here they staid for six days in expectation of having the town ransomed, but perceiving the Spaniards had no such intention, they set fire to it, and returned to the fleet. After this exploit they sailed for the island of Rana, to execute a project they had formed against Guiaguil. In their voyage hither they took a bark laden with Quito cloth, a coarse woolen manufacture worn all over the kingdom of Peru. From the master of this vessel they learnt, that three canoes filled with negroes would come out the next tide. Upon this the English embarked all their men on board canoes, leaving only five men in the bark, with orders not to fire at any thing before eight o'clock next morning, by which time they imagined they would have taken the town. On their approach they met and took one of the barks with the negroes on board. By them they were informed, that the other two would not come out till the next tide. This determined them to push forward, and conceal themselves in a creek, in order to watch the intended barks. By some mistake the project failed, and of the whole they only took the two masters, as they were endeavouring to escape on shore. This miscarriage occasioned great confusion, as from thence it was concluded the town would be alarmed, and their scheme frustrated. Some were for returning to the ships; others, of which number was captain Davis, were for penetrating by land, and instantly attacking the town, before it could be put in a posture of defence. Accordingly with fifty men he began his march: but, after four hours, was forced to abandon the attempt, thick woods, and deep marshes preventing his progress. As the tide now answered, it was resolved to row up to the town, and, in case of their being discovered, to retreat with all possible expedition. At first only one light appeared, but, upon turning a point of land, a great number were observed, which some deemed a sure token of their having been discovered, while others were no less obstinate in the opinion that it was no more than certain orgies and ceremonies usual on the eve of a festival, as the following day happened to be. Captain Swan, and those who maintained the first conjecture, were upbraided with cowardice. A descent was therefore resolved on, and a landing effected about two miles from the town; but as the whole space to the town was over-run with thick wood, they were forced to wait for day-light. This circumstance, and the desertion of one of their guides, disconcerted the whole measure, upon which they retreated to Puna. In

their

their way they seized upon the three above-mentioned barks, on board of which were no less than 1000 stout negroes. They kept 60 of these, and dismissed the rest; a piece of conduct which Dampier greatly blames, and exclaims against as an unpardonable oversight. They ought, says he, to be carried to Santa Maria, on the isthmus of Darien, to work the gold mines on that side. By erecting a fort or two at the entrance of the river Maria, and the assistance of their friends among the natives, of the English and French privateers, who would naturally flock in to them, they would be able, he is of opinion, not only to maintain themselves against all the power of Spain, but also to extend their conquests to the coasts and gold mines of Quito.

After this disappointment, it was unanimously resolved, that, after providing themselves with fresh water and provisions, they should proceed to Lavelia, a town in the bay of Panama. They steered to the river St Jago, chusing this on account of its vicinity to the island of Gallo, abounding with gold, and affording good anchorage. This river they entered on the 27th of December by the lesser branches, meeting with no natives for six leagues up, when they discovered two huts thatched with palmeto leaves. Soon after they saw several canoes of Indians, their whole families and household goods, paddling against the stream, but with great rapidity. In the huts they found a few plantanes, a hog, and some fowls. Not perceiving that there was any encouragement to proceed, they returned to the mouth of the river, proposing to pursue their way to Gallo, where they had appointed to meet the ships. Gallo is a small uninhabited island, seated under 3° north, in a spacious bay, three leagues from the river Tomaco. It is pretty high, and well stored with lofty trees; affords fresh water, and a good anchorage.

January the first, after making prize of a small vessel belonging to a Spanish knight, they seized upon a packet of letters going from Panama to Lima, to hasten the plate fleet, the armada from Spain being arrived at Porto Bello. This news made them determine to watch the motions of these rich ships, and cruise off the Pearl Islands, by which all ships from Panama to Lima must necessarily pass. With this view they were under sail on the 7th, and the following day took a ship laden with flour. The 16th they took a prize off the Pearl Islands, bound from Lavelia with maize, salt, beef, and fowls. On the 20th they made another prize laden with hogs, beef, fowls, and salt. During their stay at Tobagilla, they narrowly escaped being destroyed by a pretended merchant of Panama, who, under colour of carrying on a contraband trade with them, had introduced in the night a fire-ship into the midst of the squadron. Some of the English, suspecting the affair, hailed her to come to an anchor, which she refusing, they fired at her. The crew, terrified at their being discovered, set fire to the train, and took to their canoes, which obliged the English ships to cut their cables to save themselves. Captain Swan likewise perceived an Indian upon a float coming towards him, which he suspecting to be loaded with combustibles, sunk it. The fire-
ship

ship was conducted by one Bond, an Englishman, who had deserted the buccaneers. Dampier says, that without his assistance they could not have fitted her out, all those of that nation in the South-seas being grossly ignorant of the art of war, especially in naval affairs.

Next morning, while captains Swan and Davis were busied in recovering the anchors they had cut the preceding night, they observed a whole fleet of canoes pass the coast of Tobagilla. This proved to be a body of English and French privateers, who crossed the isthmus of Darien from the North to the South-seas. It was composed of 200 French and 80 English, the latter of whom were taken on board captains Davis and Swan, and the former put to mann a prize. With this force they sailed to the continent, to meet captain Townley, who, they were told, was likewise crossing the isthmus with 180 men; a junction with whom, they doubted not, would enable them to undertake great exploits. They soon met with Townley and his crew, in two Spanish barks laden with wine and oil he had taken. The whole fleet now amounting to nine sail, they went with confidence to their station, to watch for the plate-fleet, of which they had an account by intercepted letters. They were 1000 men strong, had one ship of 36 guns, another of 16, and the rest well provided with small arms. On the 25th they got sight of the Spanish fleet, which consisted of 14 sail, besides periogoes, or boats of 12 oars. The ships mounted from 8 to 48 guns, and had about 3000 men on board. Night coming on before the fleets came near enough to engage, a stratagem of the Spanish admiral gained him the weather-gage before morning, and rendered the engagement still more unequal. When the dark came on, he hung out a lanthorn at his top-head, as a signal to anchor. This light he soon after took down; but in half an hour it appeared again, whence the English concluded that he remained in his former station. No sooner had day approached, than they discovered their mistake, the lanthorn being fixed to the topmast of an empty bark left at anchor to the leeward, while the Spanish fleet was discovered on the windward bearing down upon them. Every thing being now in confusion, the English, instead of compensating their long toils by rich booty, were happy to get off, and save themselves by a running fight. Thus this great project, which had cost them so much pains in contriving, so many hazards, dangers, and difficulties, in pursuing, vanished in smoke.

After this, they encountered various dangers and disappointments, till at length they made an attack on the city of Leon. This city stands 20 miles up the country, in a sandy plain, the way to it from the sea being through a champaign country, covered with long grass: 470 men were landed for this expedition, who marched up to the city, captain Townley with 80 chosen men leading the van. Advancing two miles before the main body, he drove a party of seventy horse back into the city, which he entered with little resistance: 500 foot and 200 horse were drawn up in the principal street, and made a shew of engaging; but, on

Townley's

Townley's approach, they were disconcerted with the courage of such a handful of men, and retreated precipitately, leaving the city in possession of the English, having removed every thing of any value. Next day the governor sent a trumpet, offering to ransom it; but the English asking 30,000 pieces of eight, he dropped the negotiation, and they set fire to the city, after which they retreated to their ships. The English took here a few prisoners, among the rest a Spanish gentleman, who was released upon his parole to pay them 150 head of oxen at Rio Leja, a promise which he punctually performed. At this latter place captain Swan and captain Davis parted company, the latter intending to return to the coast of Peru, the other purposing to proceed farther west. Dampier, being curious to see the northern parts of the continent of Mexico, quitted Davis's ship, and accompanied Swan.

Before they left Rio Leja, their men begun to be much afflicted with fevers, which they attributed to the remains of a contagious distemper that had reigned in the place before their arrival. On the 3d of September they weighed anchor, and steered a westerly course till October the second, when they endeavoured to make a descent upon the coast, in hopes of obtaining some refreshments; in which they were disappointed by the difficulty of landing. Some days after, captain Townley again attempted a descent near the harbour of Guatulco, but with as little success as on the former occasion. The troops indeed were fairly landed; but, after marching fourteen miles up the country, they could meet with nothing worth the trouble they had taken. The 23d, they landed again at Port Angels, in the latitude of 15 degrees north, where they met with store of beef and fresh water, as well as of hogs, maize, and poultry. The 2d of November, some canoes were sent to cut a ship out of the harbour of Acapulca, which they did without opposition. Captain Townley's vessel being extremely leaky, he exchanged her for this, which proved a stout ship and good sailer. On the 11th of December they arrived at Cape Corientes, in 20° 28' north latitude. The ship from the Philippines necessarily making this point in her way homewards, captain Swan resolved to cruise off here. The ships took their stations in such a manner as they imagined would render it impossible for her to pass unnoticed; but as the squadron was in want of provisions, 50 men were detached in canoes to examine what the country afforded. They returned the 17th, without any purchase. After this, captain Townley landed in the beautiful valley of Valderas, where his party was attacked by 150 Spaniards, who were soon put to flight, with the loss of their commander, and 17 troopers. The reward of this victory was no more than 50 bushels of maize, which Townley carried on board; an acquisition of great importance in the present circumstances of the fleet. After this the fleet came again before the valley of Valderas, where they killed a great number of black cattle, and fully supplied the whole squadron with beef; but, in the mean while, the Manila ship escaped from them; a loss which was attributed to the obstinacy of Townley.

Townley. Dampier launches out into severe invectives against this officer, which shews how much he was chagrined at the loss of so rich a prize. Hitherto they had a double design in view, either watching the Manila ship, or examining the coast for rich towns and mines; but the first intention being frustrated, discord arose; in consequence of which Swan and Townley parted, the former holding his course, and the other going back to the east.

Still Dampier kept by Swan, resolving to make a complete tour. Seven leagues north-north-west of the island of Chametty, a party was landed in 24 degrees, where they were encountered by a party of Spaniards, who made but a short resistance. From some Indian prisoners made, the English had intelligence that the town which presented itself was called Massactan; and that five leagues farther were some rich gold mines. The English were, however, so much distressed for provisions, that, neglecting the mines, they went in search of maize; of which they picked up a few bushels. This quantity not being sufficient for their purpose, they sailed towards the fine river of St Jago. Entering it with their canoes, they rowed for some time, and then landed under a field where the natives were gathering maize. One of them they made prisoner, and by him were informed, that a few miles up the country was a town called Santa Pecaue, where they would find provisions. Thither the party immediately took their march, and entered it without opposition. They found there abundance of maize, sugar, salt, and salt-fish. Captain Swan directed, that one half of the party should carry provisions on board, while the other defended the town; but receiving advice that 1000 Spaniards were on their march from St Jagó, about three leagues distant, to attack him, he ordered all the horse possible to be got together, on which he piled provisions, and marched with them to his canoes. Notwithstanding all their expedition, they were way-laid by the Spaniards, a great part of their provisions retaken, some of their men killed, and others made prisoners. Among the slain was Mr Ringrose, who had published captain Sharpe's journal, and a history of the buccaneers.

Captain Sharpe returning on board with the remainder of his men and booty, it was determined in a general council to sail to Cape St Lucas in California, in hopes of a commerce with the Indians there, and consequently in the lake of California. This lake is a chanel, or part of the sea, between an island and the continent; but little known to the Spaniards, or else concealed by them, lest the other nations of Europe should discover that way to the mines of Mexico. They vary considerably concerning its situation in their charts: some make it an island, others the continent; but none of them give any account of the tides, the soundings, or the harbours near this lake; whereas their hydrographical maps describe the coasts towards Asia, on the west side of the island, from Cape St Lucas to 40 degrees north. The vast distance of this country, and the reasons we have given, have prevented other nations from penetrating to the mines of Mexico. Several attempts have indeed been made

for the discovery of a north-west passage; but if we may be permitted to offer our opinion, wrong methods have been taken. Instead of searching for the passage through Davis's or Hudson's Bay, we would think it promised more success by beginning the scrutiny with the South-seas, thence along California, and so a passage made back into the West-seas. The same rule might be observed in searching for a north-east passage; viz. wintering about Japan, Corea, and the north-east part of China, and hence taking advantage of the approaching spring and summer to go along the coast of Tartary, whence you may have time enough to reach Archangel, or some other port on those coasts.

Sailing from Cape Corientes on March the 31st, they got sight of Guam, one of the Ladrones, on May the 20th. Having secured fresh provisions here, they steered for the Philippines, where they arrived on the 21st of June. Our author is extremely circumstantial in respect to the history of the Philippines, of which we shall here say nothing, having referred that subject for another place. At Mindanao, the author was present at the circumcision of the king's nephew, the son of Rajah Daut, which was performed with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. He acquaints us, that the natives were extremely urgent with the English to settle in the island, as a bulwark between them and the Dutch, whose cruelty and avarice they dreaded. Dampier is at great pains to demonstrate that a more prudent measure could not, in their present circumstances, be followed, than establishing such a colony. They were provided with all kinds of artificers, carpenters, bricklayers, shoemakers, taylors, and also with convenient tools, arms, guns, and small-arms, sufficient for a beginning; and they might reasonably expect supplies from England in the space of 18 months from their first settling. Captain Swan was invited on shore by Rajah Daut, who promised to furnish him with all the provisions he wanted; but desired he would in the mean time secure his ship in the river against the approaching storm. This the captain, after some deliberation, agreed to; but the river being narrow, it was with great difficulty she could get a quarter of a league above its entrance. Here she was moored fast, and the inhabitants of the city of Mindanao frequently came on board, inviting the English to their houses, where they entertained them in a hearty manner with tobacco and betel. As for the captain, he was every day entertained at the Rajah's house, and boiled rice, fowls, and buffaloe's flesh, given to such of his men as had no money. Notwithstanding these external marks of friendship, Swan began to suspect the Rajah's integrity and sincerity. This prince had been mean enough to borrow several sums of money of captain Swan, which he could never get from him. This, and many other doubts concerning his designs, determined the English to quit the island, January the 13th was appointed for their departure; but many of them, unwilling to leave the island, had dispersed themselves up and down the country, by the encouragement of the Rajah. A majority, however, were for quitting the island at the appointed time; and the captain not

being ready to depart, they deposed him, chusing in his room captain Tate. Swan, with about 40 of the men, were left on the island, besides 16 they had buried.

Anchoring on February 3d in the latitude of $15^{\circ} 9'$ north, on the west side of the island of Sebo, they saw in the bay a low woody little island, inhabited only by a kind of bat of an incredible size, the wings, when extended, being seven or eight feet from pinion to pinion. Every night they took their flight to the great island, returning before dawn to thick haunts in this solitude. On the 23d they took a Spanish bark off the island of Luconia. A canoe came to them from Manila, offering to convey their letters to certain merchants in the town, who would be glad to carry on a clandestine trade with them. By these Indians they were informed likewise, that no less than thirty sail were lying in the harbour of Manila, Chinese, Spaniards, and Portuguese. The 23d of March they came to the island of Ubi, forty leagues west of Pulo-Condore, lying near the south-west point of land that forms the long cape or promontory of Siam, called *Cambodia*. May the 21st, returning to Pulo Condore, some of the English going on board a Malayan vessel, ten of them were stabbed by the crew, of which wounds they soon died; however it was not convenient for the rest to revenge their death. In June they arrived on the coast of China, anchoring at the island of St John, on the coast of Canton, in $22^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude. After encountering a violent storm, they steered to the Piscadores in 23 degrees north lat. Here they were civilly received by the Tartarian governor, who sent them refreshments and other presents; in return for which Mr Read, now captain of the ship, sent him a silver-hilted sword, a carbine and a gold chain. The Piscadores islands are in general high and rocky, with fertile and pleasant vallies, which, besides fine grafs, produce plantains, bananas, pine-apples, pompons, sugar-canæs, potatoes, and some cotton. These islands afford fine brooks of fresh water, are well stored with hogs, fowls wild and tame, with every other necessary of life. The natives are short, thick, round-visaged, with low foreheads and thick eyebrows. Their eyes of an hazel-colour, and small. Their noses are flat and short, their lips and mouths of the ordinary size; their teeth white and regular, their hair long, lank, and black, and their complexion of a dark copper colour. They go always bare-headed, and the greater part wholly naked, with only a small bit of rag tied round the waist. Some have jackets of plantain-leaves, but rough as a goat's skin. The women have a short petticoat of coarse calicoe, of their own manufacture, reaching a little below the knee. Both sexes wear ear-rings of a yellow metal like gold, having its weight and malleability, but something paler in the colour. Dampier is doubtful whether, for this reason, and that he observed it lose its brightness, it be true gold: concerning which we, however, have no kind of doubt, as every chymist knows it to be possessed of the true requisites of pure gold, viz. its weight and ductility. As for the colour, it is adventitious, and may easily be given to artificial gold;

gold ; but the other two qualities are what constitute its real value, and never yet could be imitated.

One experiment which Dampier mentions would seem, however, to contradict our opinion ; it is the custom the natives have of putting it into a quick fire till it was red-hot, after they had besmeared it with a red earth or loam. By this means they refine it without melting, all the sulphureous particles flying off.

The houses of the natives are small, scarce five feet high. They stand in little villages upon the sides of a rock, three or four rows one above the other. The rocky precipices seem to be formed by nature into different shelves or stories running parallel, upon which they build a row of houses, a second up to them, a third, and so on as far as the nature of the rock favours their design. Each row communicates with ladders set up like flights of stairs. By this they are not only exceedingly sociable, but secure ; these ladders being removed there is no access. Nor are they less expert in building their boats and larger vessels, of which they make great use, fishing being their chief employment and amusement. They never kill hogs or goats, but feed upon the intrails of such as die by accident or disease ; even their skins they eat, after having burnt off the hair. Another extraordinary dish is in great esteem at certain seasons of the year ; we mean a dish of locusts, which they take in their nets, and boil or bake in an earthen pan. Dampier says, that it eats deliciously ; and perhaps it is prejudice only which nauseates the stomach of an European at the thoughts of it. Their common drink is simple and pure water ; but at festivals, and all other extraordinary occasions, they use a sort of liquor boiled out of the sugar-cane, mixed with black-berries. This they put into jars, suffer it to ferment, refine, and settle ; after which it becomes a pleasant and strong wine, resembling in taste and colour our English beer. They call it *Bafbee*, whence the English sailors called one of these islands by this name. Dampier says their language bears no affinity to the Chinese, Malayan, or any other language he had ever heard.

Their only weapon is a kind of lance, headed with iron. A sort of armour they use of a buffaloe's hide, without sleeves close about their shoulders, reaching below the knee, and there about three feet wide ; the whole stiff, hard, and impenetrable as an oak plank. Dampier could observe no kind of religion among them. They seemed to have neither idols, worship of any kind, laws, or government, except a certain family precedence and respect which children paid to their parents, and young people to old men. However, he imagines that they have some laws established by ancient custom ; for he saw a young man buried alive for theft. The wife stands in great awe and obedience to her husband, insomuch that our author suspects he has the power of life and death over her and her children. The boys are bred up to fishing, and the girls to working under their mothers in the plantations, which are smaller or larger in proportion to the family ; no riches being requisite here, and

nothing more required than to supply the wants and calls of natives. They are a peaceable, hospitable, and civil people, both to strangers and to each other. During the stay of the English there, not the smallest difference arose either among themselves or with the sailors in the course of commerce, although there were not wanting occasions, had they been of a quarrelsome humour.

On the 25th of August our traders or buccaneers were driven out to sea by a violent storm, and it was the 1st of October before they could get back again to the Bashee island, from whence they had been forced. The many crosses that the men had met with, diverted them from all thoughts of the Manila ship, and all were now more inclined to a homeward voyage, than to any other enterprise; a resolution in which this last storm had confirmed them: however, they were induced, by the persuasions of captain Read, who doubtless intended cruising in the Red sea, to stand for cape Camorin.

October the 3d, 1687, they quitted these islands, with fair weather, and the wind at west, intending to sail among the spice islands on their way to the cape. On the 16th of the same month they came to an anchor between a couple of islands, lying to the south-east of Mindanao, where they haled their ship ashore to clean her bottom, and made for her a new pump, with a bow-sprit, fore-yard, and fore-top-mast.

Here they received intelligence concerning captain Swan and the thirty-six men whom they had left behind with him at Mindanao: they were informed that he had fought against the mountaineers under Raja Laut, with good success, and was, together with his men, in great reputation at the sultan's court. Our author would fain have persuaded some of the men to submit again to his command, as they were now so near him; but the scheme was discovered to captain Read, who prevented it.

Most of Swan's men, in some time after, got off in different ships; but he himself going on board a Dutch vessel was purposely overthrown and knocked on the head by the natives; and there are some grounds to suspect, that this murder was perpetrated by order of Raja Laut, as well for the sake of some gold wherof the captain was possessed, and which by his death fell into the hands of the general, as in revenge for a few slighting expressions which he had imprudently uttered.

Captain Read left these islands November 2d, 1687, steering a south-east course. On the 22d, standing three leagues to the southward of the island of Celebes, they perceived a large proe with sixty men in her, attended by six smaller ones, whom they endeavoured, to no purpose, to allure on board, by shewing them Dutch colours. On this coast they found cockles of so large a size, that the meat of one of them served seven or eight people; here also grew a sort of vine, the leaves of which, pounded with hog's lard, composed an excellent salve.

In 3° south latitude, they discovered three water-spouts, it being then the 30th of November: these are very dangerous to shipping, tho' the bad consequences are sometimes prevented by firing great guns at them

them; in order to break them. They are formed first upon the surface of the sea, the water of which, after whirling about a long time in the circumference of perhaps one hundred paces, flies up in a pyramidal form to a cloud which crowns it, and along with which it drives upon the water, until the suction being spent, the spout separates from the cloud, and the water tumbles again into the sea, to the manifest destruction of any thing beneath it.

December the 6th, captain Read came to anchor in a harbour on the east side of the island of Button, lying in $4^{\circ} 54'$ south latitude. The island is high, flat, and woody, about twenty-five leagues long and ten broad. The inhabitants are neat, tight, small, and well-shaped, in manners and colour like those of Mindanao; they are governed by a sultan, who, hearing that the ship was English, came on board, attended by some of his nobles, and three of his sons, assuring captain Read, that he was at liberty to traffic with his subjects for what he pleased, and that he would serve him to the utmost of his power.

The captain ordered him a salute of five guns on his coming on board, and he went on shore under the discharge of five more. Captain Read visited him in his palace, which was a very neat house, by invitation, the following day: he was received in a ground-floor covered with mats, to which he passed through a lane of forty naked soldiers armed with lances, and was entertained with tobacco, betel, and young cocoa nuts. The sultan some time after made him a present of two he-goats, and a boy, each of whose jaws were lined with two row of teeth. Potatoes and rice were in great plenty upon this island, as were also cockadores, and very curious coloured paroquetos.

The cockadore has a bunch of feathers upon his head like a crown; it is now white, with the shape and bill of a parrot. The sultan's residence was in a large town called *Callasung*, situated on the top of a small hill, about a league from the place of anchoring, surrounded with a strong stone wall; and the houses, which appeared very neat, were built upon posts.

Captain Read staid here till the 12th, but broke his cable and lost his anchor, it being hooked in a rock when they attempted to weigh: they got clear of the shoals, which ly in great plenty about these islands, on the 16th, steering south and south-east, the wind veering west-south-west to west, and north north-west, the weather being very indifferent.

On the 20th they passed by the island of Omba, in $8^{\circ} 20'$ latitude. In some maps 'tis called Pantare. Here they saw thick smoaks by day, and large fires by night: there is a good town on the north side of this island contiguous to the sea, but the weather would not permit them to stand in for it.

On the 27th, being clear of all the islands, they steer'd their course for New Holland, which land they fell in with January the 4th, 1683, in latitude $16^{\circ} 50'$ south: they ran twelve leagues along the shore before they could find a proper place to anchor in; and the following day, they

they discovered a good harbour with hard sand and clean ground, in twenty nine fathom water, where they anchored two miles from the shore.

New Holland is a very large tract of land, joining, in the opinion of Dampier, neither to Asia, Africa, nor America; yet he does not pretend to determine whether it is an island, or the main continent.

The land is dry and sandy, producing many sorts of trees, not growing together very thick, but having under them pretty long grass: here they saw neither fruit nor berries, and the most remarkable tree that they noticed was one, from whence there distilled a gum, which, upon comparison, appeared to have all the qualities of dragon's blood.

The only sign of any animal that they could possibly remark, was a track something like that of a mastiff dog.

Of fowls there were very few, and small birds were scarce, there being none bigger than a thrush; and if you except the manatee and turtle, both which are extraordinary shy, the sea seems to be almost destitute of fish.

The inhabitants have neither boats nor iron; they are certainly the most miserable generation upon earth; their only food being a small sort of fish which is brought in with every tide, and left in stone wiers erected upon the shore for that purpose at low water: whatever they catch is divided equally among the family, old and young, and sometimes they have a few cockles, mussels, and periwinkles: when these fail them, which through the providence of nature very seldom happens, they run the hazard of starving: they have no water but what is got out of wells, which must be dug very deep.

They are tall, slender, and straight-bodied, with large heads, round foreheads, and bushy eye-brows: they have neither house, garment, grain, fruit, pulse, roots, eggs, nor any sort of birds or beasts: the flies here are so extremely troublesome, that you run a hazard of their getting into your mouth, nose, or eyes, unless you stop up the passages; for which reason they commonly keep their eyes half shut, and are obliged to hold up their hands when they look at any thing, as if they examined the sky.

They have bottle noses, thick lips, wide mouths, black woolly hair, and black skins like the negroes of Guinea: they have no beards, nor is there one feature in their faces that can possibly be called agreeable; the two fore-teeth of the upper jaw are wanting both in men and women: whether they are removed by way of ornament, or that it be a natural defect, Mr Dampier does not pretend to ascertain: they have so much modesty as to cover the nudities with a handful of long grass, or three or four green boughs stuck in a girdle made of the bark of a tree, which they fasten about their waists: they have no beds but the damp earth, no roofs but the wide extended heavens; nor does there seem to be any particular connection between man and woman, but they rather copulate promiscuously.

To worship of any sort they seem to be strangers, at least as far as our author could perceive. They have a kind of wooden sword, and a lance sharpened at one end, wherewith they defend themselves against such enemies as may presume to disturb them in catching their fish; for it is not to be supposed that they have any other: their language is entirely guttural; nor could any of captain Read's company understand one word that they uttered: they were terribly frightened at the first appearance of the ship's crew, but that fear vanished on finding that they intended them no harm. Some of the sailors hoped they could have prevailed upon them, by giving them cloaths, to assist them in carrying water to their canoes; but this intention they could by no manner of signs be brought to understand, but grinned at each other like monkeys, and very fairly laid down the cloaths again after they had examined them for a while with seeming amazement.

While they remained here, Mr Dampier was threatened to be turned ashore, for endeavouring to persuade some of the men to go off to an English factory. He had long harboured this design, but now gave over all thoughts of it, till a more convenient opportunity should offer.

March the 12th, they left the coast of New Holland, with a fair wind at north-north-west, steering for Cape Camorin. On the 28th, they fell in with a small woody island, in $10^{\circ} 30'$ south latitude, where they took in fresh water, land crabs, and store of boobies.

April the 12th, they came to the island of Triest, about fifteen leagues west of Sumatra, not above a mile in circumference, and so very low, that the tide flows clear over it at flood; but it bears great plenty of cocoa nuts, with which they stocked themselves, as well as with some fish, and two young aligators. They left this place on the 18th, and on the 29th took a proe at anchor, on board of which were four men, whom captain Read kept as prisoners, seizing their cargo, which consisted of cocoa nuts and oil, and sinking the vessel. This precaution he took to prevent Dampier and some others from making their escape.

On the 4th May, they had sight of the Nicobar islands, which ly forty leagues north-west of the isle of Sumatra. The chief commodities of these islands are ambergrise and fruit, which are brought aboard of such ships as come into the road, by the natives in their proes, to whom all white nations are alike.

May the 6th, they came to an anchor on the west side of the island of Nicobar properly so called, in eight fathom water. It lyes in seven degrees thirty minutes north latitude. The soil of it is fertile, well watered, and forms a pretty landscape when seen from the sea. Among various sorts of trees which flourish here, are plenty of cocos and melary: the former has been sufficiently described already; the latter is a fruit of a light green colour, with a tough, smooth rind; it is as large as the bread fruit, and eats something like an apple. The natives are tall and well-limbed, of a dark copper-colour complexion, with long visages, black eyes, agreeable features, and lank black hair.

The women have no hair on their eye-brows : perhaps they pluck it off, reckoning the want of it ornamental. The men are naked, having only a piece of cloth wrapt round their waists, and swathed two or three times about their thighs. Their language seems to be peculiar to themselves, and Dampier could not discover, whether they had any form of religion among them. Their houses, very curiously thatched with palmetto leaves, are raised upon posts, eight feet from the ground ; and they consist but of one room, which is about eight feet high.

We don't find that they have any appearance of government among them ; they seem to be all upon an equal footing, and live scattered round the island, there being seldom more than four or five houses together. They have no yams, potatoes or rice, but a few plantains, and some small hogs ; they had also cocks and hens ; but though every house had at least two or three canoes belonging to it, and drawn ashore opposite to it, yet their fishery is not very great. Their canoes will hold twenty or thirty men, and they use oars as we do, sitting upon benches of split bambo. Here the captain filled water, and ordered the men to heel the ship, in order to clean her.

Here our author got leave of captain Read to go ashore with his chest and bedding : the place where he was landed had but two houses, the master of one of which, by signs, invited Dampier to enter ; intimating that if he did not, he might be exposed to some danger from the wild beasts of the wood, in the darkness of the night. There came two other men on shore with him, *wiz.* Mr Hall, and Mr Ambrose, they having long before intended to take the first opportunity of escaping from captain Read.

Mr Coppering the surgeon, who was an Irishman, would fain have followed their example ; but he was forcibly prevented. The pilot that they brought from Pulo-Condore, and the four men that had been taken off Sumatra, in the proe belonging to Achin, were also left upon the island. The pilot, who was a Portuguese, was a useful member of this community, as he understood the Malayan, and other Indian tongues.

About twelve o'clock at night, May the 6th, captain Read got under sail, and then our malecontents lay down to sleep, which they did not chuse to do before ; lest captain Read might have revoked his leave, and sent some of his men to force them again on board. Perhaps he would never have permitted them to have gone on shore, had he imagined they would have got off this island so well as they afterwards did. Early in the morning, Dampier was visited by his host, attended by four or five of his friends, bringing with him a large calabash of toddy.

He was at first surprized to see the number of his guests so much increased, but appeared afterwards well enough satisfied, and bought of them a canoe for an ax, which one of the men had stolen, knowing it to be a good commodity among the Indians, as he came over the ship's side. This canoe was as large as a wherry, but alas ! they had no sooner got aboard with all their things, but it overset with them, and it took them up three days to dry their papers and other things which were contained

ed in their chests : however, with the assistance of the Achen sailors, they soon set her to rights again, fitting her out with a good mast, and balance-logs, or out-liggers ; and then they steered for the east side of the island, being followed by the inhabitants in eight or ten canoes, whom Mr Hall, by firing a gun over their heads, scared away ; fearing that such a large company might have increased the price of provisions upon them.

This action had like to have been detrimental two ways ; first, it frightened their most useful hands, the Achen men, so very much, that they leaped out of the canoe, and it was sometime before they were re-convinc'd, no harm was intended them ; moreover, it intimidated the inhabitants from bringing provisions to them, which they us'd to purchase for old rags, and small strips of cloth.

The inhabitants now appeared in great numbers every where, to oppose their landing ; however, in a day or two, Dampier and Mr Hall leapt on shore in the sight of a large number of them, with whom they soon made peace, by shaking hands : and were as plentifully supplied with provision as before. It consisted of only leaves of melory, the pulp of which, being separated from the rhind and core, and compressed together, will keep six or seven days ; besides some cocoas, and a few hens. These, with twelve large cocoa nutshells, and two or three bamboes, all which together held about eight gallons of water, were their only sea-store, wherewith they left the island Nicobar, on the 15th of May, 1688, directing their course towards Achen.

On the 18th, the sky began to be cloudy, and a halluo or circle gathering about the sun, which infallibly prognosticates ill weather, made them fearful of a storm. However, on the 19th in the morning, after having been terribly buffeted by a tempest of wind, thunder, lightening, and rain, which it was wonderful their vessel ever outlived, they were surprized with one of their Achen men crying out, as they thought, Pull away ; an expression common among English sailors when they are rowing ; but by his pointing to land, which just then appeared, they found he meant Puloway, which is an island lying on the north-west end of Sumatra. I should have before observed to you, that Pulo all along this coast, is the common word for island ; so that Puloway is no more than the island of Way.

The next morning they found that he had mistaken ; for, instead of its being the island of Way, it proved to be the golden mountain of Sumatra. They entered the mouth of a river called *Passange Jonca*, and landed at a small fishing-town bearing the same name ; and by this time they were so fatigued, that they were all in high fevers, and so very weak, that they were scarcely able to stand.

The news of their arrival brought several of the oramkis or noblemen to see them, who being informed of their adventures, ordered a large house to be provided for them, and sent them plenty of cocoas, plantains, fowls, eggs, fish, and rice ; but finding themselves far from recovering

their healths, they were induced to make the best of their way to Aches where there is an English factory; for which purpose, they were provided with a proe, which carried them to the appointed place in three days.

In this city they were received with great hospitality by the chief magistrate; and Mr Dennis Driscoll, an Irishman, in the service of the East India company, treated them in a very friendly manner, and served as an interpreter between them and the shebander, or chief magistrate.

Here our author became acquainted with captain Bowrey, who had a ship lying in the road, and would have importuned our author to have sailed with him to Persia, in quality of boatswain; but he was intimidated from accepting the proposal, by the badness of the weather, and his own state of health.

Mr Hall and Mr Ambrose were entered also on board the same ship; and the latter, whose surname our author does not remember, for Ambrose was his Christian name, died soon after. At length, Dampier engaged with one captain Weldon, with whom he made several trading voyages in this country, for upwards of fifteen months, and afterwards he entered himself as gunner to an English factory on the west coast of Ben-coolen: in which employment he remained five months, and then quitted it from a dislike to the governor. He staid upon this coast till the year 1691, when he embarked for England, on board the Defence, captain Heath commander, lying in the Ben-coolen road: and on this occasion was obliged to make his escape by creeping through one of the port-holes of the fort, the governor having revoked a promise he had made of permitting him to depart. He brought off his journal, and some of his most valuable papers.

It was the 2d of January when he got on board, but the 25th before the ship set sail. At sea, they lost above thirty of their men, by a distemper arising from the badness of the water which they had on board; it growing very hot, and being tinctured black, lying in the hold amongst the pepper; which certainly contributed to make it unwholesome. Captain Heath indeed behaved very well on board, for he not only kept watch constantly himself, but supplied his men with some of his own tamarinds, and other things that contributed greatly to refresh them. The beginning of April, they reached the Cape of Good Hope, where the sick were sent on shore, and supplied with beef, mutton, and other refreshments.

Here also our author went on shore with a painted prince, who had been given to him by one Mr Moody, and whom he afterwards sold in the river Thames, because he was short of money.

The persons who purchased him, carried him about for a shew, and he died at Oxford of the small-pox. His name was Joel, and he was born in an island called *Meangis*, where the people wear gold rings in their ears and about their legs, and are curiously painted in various sorts of figures; well proportioned, but rather monsters of imagination, than copies of nature. The breast, thighs, and shoulders of this prince, who

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was carried on shore for the sake of his health, were particularly ornamented in this manner.

The Cape of Good Hope is the utmost boundary of the southern continent of Africa; it lies in $34^{\circ} 30'$, and is one of the mildest climates in the world. The Table mountain is a very remarkable piece of high land, seen at a vast distance at sea, and being a proper land-mark for ships. The soil is good, and very grateful to those that till it, abounding with wheat, barley, and pease; and they have apples, pears quinces, pomegranates of an extraordinary bigness, and large vineyards which thrive extremely well, yielding a strong, pleasant, sweet wine of a pale colour.

It abounds with sheep, goats, hogs, cows, and horses; but the sheep are the best sort of meat, as the pasturage is dry and short, which agrees well with them. Here are said to be plenty of wild beasts; among which may be reckoned a very beautiful animal, called a *wild ass*, the body of which is curiously streaked black and white. Among their birds are found ducks, common fowls, and ostriches, a single egg of one of which is a good meal for two men: they are said to lay them in the sand, where they are hatched by the heat of the sun.

The sea is well stored with fish, and one of a species smaller than a herring, which eats well pickled. The Dutch have a good fort here, and a town strongly walled in, where the East India company have a good house, and a garden of prodigious extent, which is said to be one of the finest in the world. The Dutch that are settled here get a good deal of money by the entertainment of strangers; and a man must pay at the rate of a dollar a day for his eating, besides eighteen stivers for a bottle of wine, which can be sold no where but at one licensed house, under prodigious penalties.

There is another house licensed to sell rum and beer, and a third for brandy and tobacco. The complexion of the natives, who are called *Hottentots*, on account of their stammering, is between that of the inhabitants of Guinea and New Holland.

They rub themselves over with foot and grease, instead of painting, and wrap sheep guts about their legs when they go upon a journey, some of which they wear eight or twelve months; when, if they chance to be hungry, they will take them off and eat them. They dress their hair with small shells, and wear a sheep-skin cloak, which infects them much with lice; but this consequence is no great hardship upon them, for they seem particularly fond of lousing themselves. Their houses are long poles stuck circularly in the ground, and joined together on the top, interwoven with grass, rushes, and pieces of hide, with a door three or four feet high, into which they creep upon all-fours, and this door is stopt up when the wind happens to blow full into it, another opening being made in the opposite quarter.

They have no beds to ly on, but mix together round a great fire, kindled in the middle of the house, the smoke of which has no particular vent, but makes the best of its way through the crannies. They

don't appear to have any sort of a religious worship, unless we give the name of religious rite to their dancing very oddly, and making a great noise at the time of the new and full moon. In short, take them all in all, they are the nastiest, the meanest, and the most indolent people upon the face of the earth.

Captain Heath's ship was so thinned by sickness, that he was obliged to accept of the service of some Dutch sailors who deserted to him privately from other ships, some for the sake of profit, and some for the sake of seeing Europe sooner than they would otherwise have done.

They left this place on the 23d of May, and arrived at St Helena, in which is a governor, who has a good house and the command of a fort, on the 20th of June. The air is wholesome, and the place abounds with potatoes, yams, plantains, and bonanoes. They have also plenty of hogs, bullocks, cocks, hens, geese and turkies. It is famous for producing medicinal herbs, which are very efficacious in such disorders as are contracted by sailors in a long voyage.

The women of this island are well shaped, and not ugly, very fond of English sailors, with whom they are ready enough to quit their native soil.

Captain Heath left this place July the 2d, 1691, in company with the Princess Ann, the James and Mary, and the Josiah: the latter of these ships left them in bad weather, before they came in sight of England, but joined them again near the Land's End.



General GEORGE MONK.

George Monk, afterwards duke of Albemarle, was descended from an ancient and honourable family, who resided at Potheridge in Devonshire. He was born on the 6th of December 1608, and his father, whose fortune was greatly decayed, intending to procure him a commission in the service, bestowed on him an education suitable to that employment; an accident however sent him to sea much sooner than was intended, being only in his seventeenth year, when he served as a volunteer under Sir Richard Grenville.

In the unfortunate expedition to the island of Rhee, Mr Monk was honoured with a pair of colours under Sir John Borroughs; and was distinguished from his earliest youth by a steadiness of temper, which he maintained to his dying hour, and which was equally incapable of being heated by passion, or chilled by fear.

From this time Mr Monk was constantly employed in the army till the year 1653, when he was appointed to succeed colonel Popham, and on the second of June was on board *the Resolution* with admiral Deane,

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when they attacked the Dutch fleet. When the admiral being killed at the beginning of the action by a chain shot, Monk threw his cloak over the body, encouraged his men to do their duty, and then removed it into the cabin; so that the fleet knew nothing of the death of the admiral, till the battle, which lasted two days, was over: and to this remarkable presence of mind, the victory was in a great measure owing, as the death of the admiral, if known, would have encouraged the Dutch, and intimidated the English. On this occasion general Monk gave a sufficient instance of undaunted bravery, and of a spirit of pushing things to the utmost; but his reputation was soon encreased by engaging the Dutch a second time on the 29th of July, when he again maintained the action for two days, and gained a complete victory.

At his return to London he found the little parliament sitting by the authority of general Cromwell, who soon after assumed the title of *protector*, but finding the weight of governing three kingdoms too heavy for him, began to think of easing himself, by sending proper officers into two of them; and Scotland fell to the share of general Monk. Accordingly, in the spring of the year 1654, the general set out to execute his commission.

At his arrival he found the kingdom in the utmost confusion, the English army very small, and under the command of colonel Deane, a man not at all equal to the task; the nobility in arms for the royal cause; and the people divided into innumerable parties by dissensions among the clergy.

These unpromising appearances did not intimidate general Monk: he applied himself indefatigably to carry on the war with vigour; and had the satisfaction of seeing, in a very short time, the whole kingdom subdued.

As soon as he had finished the war, he retired to the house of the countess of Buccleugh, near Edinburgh, where he lived with all the moderation of a private man, and employed his leisure hours in husbandry and gardening, though, at the same time, he governed the kingdom more absolutely than most of its monarchs had done before him.

On the death of Oliver, he proclaimed Richard protector, and took every precaution in his power to secure his command in Scotland, till he saw what turn affairs would take in England. As it would carry us too far to enter into the several particulars of the restoration, which was happily effected by his means, we shall content ourselves with observing that he did every thing with the utmost prudence and circumspection, and restored the king to his undoubted rights, at a time when the royal cause, even in the opinion of its firmest friends, was absolutely lost.

After the restoration he was created duke of Albemarle, and continued to command the whole army, as long as there was any army to command.

In the beginning of the year 1666, the king sent for him suddenly to Oxford; and, on his arrival, his majesty informed him, that he had sent for

for him in order to make him joint-commander of the fleet with prince Rupert. The duke desired a day's time to consider of it, during which time he consulted with his friends, who were all unanimously of opinion that he ought to refuse the command. They observed, that he had already established his character as a seaman, soldier, and statesman, and therefore it would be wrong to venture all, at his time of life, on the fortune of a single day. The duke thanked them for their kind advice, and the great regard they had expressed for his reputation; but at the same time told them, that he valued neither any further than they were useful to his country; and that he was determined to obey the King's commands, being sure that he should either accomplish them or die in the attempt. Accordingly he accepted the commission, returned to London; and, notwithstanding the ravages of war, and destructive contagion of the plague, had made great havoc among the seamen, yet they no sooner knew that the duke of Albemarle was appointed commander of the fleet than they went in crowds to enlist in the sea service, because, as they expressed it, "honest George, would see them well fed, and justly paid."

The joint-admirals used such incredible dispatch in equipping the fleet, that on the 23d of April they sailed for the Downs, where, on intelligence that the French had fitted out a large squadron to join the Dutch, prince Rupert, with 20 of the best frigates in the fleet, was dispatched to intercept them. But this intelligence was absolutely false, the French not having any fleet at sea. The English force was, however, by this means divided, and, before the return of prince Rupert, attacked by 76 sail of Dutch men of war, whereas the duke of Albemarle had only 50.

This great superiority of numbers did not however intimidate the duke. The battle began on the 1st of June; but the wind blew so strong, that the English could not fire their lower tier of guns at the beginning of the engagement, which was very fierce on both sides. Van Trump's ship being disabled, he was obliged to remove into another; and de Ruyter coming to his assistance met with the same fate; while the powder of another Dutch ship taking fire, blew her up, and killed admiral Staghower. In the evening Sir John Harman being surrounded by a number of Dutch, signalized himself by killing captain Evertzen in the Zealand, and destroying three of the enemy's fireships; after which, being greatly disabled, he retired to Harwick. Sir William Berkley, vice-admiral of the white, and almost all his men, being killed, his ship, together with two others separated from the line, were taken.

The night having put an end to the first day's engagement, was spent in repairing damages; and the next morning the duke called a council of war, in which he thus delivered himself: "If we had dreaded the number of our enemies, we should have fled yesterday; but though we are inferior to them in ships, we are in all things else superior. Force gives them courage; let us, if we need it, bore

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" tow resolution from the thoughts of what we have formerly performed.
" ed. Let the enemy feel, that though our fleet be divided, our spirit
" is entire. At the worst, it will be more honourable to die bravely here
" on our own element, than to be made spectacles to the Dutch. To
" be overcome is the fortune of war, but to fly is the fashion of cowards.
" Let us teach the world, that Englishmen had rather be acquainted
" with death than with fear." About eight the engagement was again
begun, and continued some hours; when a calm obliged both fleets to
ly by; in the afternoon a breeze springing up, the fight again was re-
newed with equal bravery on both sides. Van Trump was obliged to
leave his ship, and at length was so fiercely attacked by the English ships,
and vice-admiral Vander Hulst being killed by a musket shot, that had not
De Ruyter interposed with uncommon bravery, and by that means brought
him off, he must have been either taken or sunk. In this day's engage-
ment, three of the Dutch ships were burnt; and the English had three
ships disabled.

The duke of Albemarle seeing towards evening that the Dutch were
reinforced, took the opportunity of the night to retreat; but was obli-
ged to maintain a running fight all the next day. The retreat was how-
ever made in excellent order, and without any loss. The Dutch follow-
ed them at a distance, till the *Royal Prince*, on board of which was Sir
George Ayscue, admiral of the white squadron, unfortunately struck
upon the sand called the *Galloper*, and was burnt by the enemy, and
himself and his men made prisoners.

In the evening of the third day the duke discovered prince Rupert's
squadron coming to his assistance; and immediately on the junction of
the fleet, the two admirals stood towards the enemy, and with drums
beating, and trumpets sounding, charged through and through the
Dutch squadrons; but night soon put an end to the action.

The next day the fight was renewed with equal fury and resolution.
The English charged through the Dutch five several times with good
advantage, and so broke them that they had not above 25 ships re-
maining in a body, and accordingly could only maintain a running fight,
standing for their own coast with the greatest expedition.

This was perhaps the most terrible battle fought in this or in any
other war; as the Dutch admirals acknowledged, and the pensioner de
Wit, who was no flatterer of our nation, yet too nice not to discern,
and of too great a spirit not to own the truth, said, " If the English
" were beat, their defeat did them more honour than all their former
" victories; their own fleet would never have made a second attack,
" after the first day's fight; and he believed none but theirs could;
" and that all the Dutch had discovered was, that Englishmen might
" be killed, and English ships burnt; but that the English courage was
" invincible."

After all, it is difficult to say, who were victorious, or what was the
loss of the vanquished. Their best historian computes our loss at 16

men of war, of which 10 were sunk and 6 taken. Our writers say the Dutch lost 15 men of war, 21 captains, and 5000 men.

The Dutch had however the credit of appearing at sea again before the English, their ships having in these engagements suffered the least. Accordingly they affected to brave us on our own coast; and next to go in search of their French allies, who never intended to afford them any assistance. But it was not long before the English appeared. Our fleet consisted of 80 men of war, great and small, and 19 fireships, &c. divided into three squadrons; the red under prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle; Sir Joseph Jordan vice, and Sir Robert Holmes rear-admiral; Sir Thomas Allen admiral of the white, having under him Sir Thomas Tyddiman and rear-admiral Uthurt; Sir Jeremy Smith carried the blue flag, and his officers were Sir Edward Spragge, and rear-admiral Kempthorne. The Dutch, according to their own account, had 88 men of war and 20 fireships divided also into three squadrons, under De Ruyter, Everitz, (brother to the admiral killed in the former action), and Trump. On the 25th of July, the English came up with the enemy off the North Foreland. Sir Thomas Allen with the white squadron began the fight by attacking Everitz: prince Rupert and the duke made a desperate attempt on De Ruyter in the afternoon; and after fighting about three hours, were obliged to go on board another ship. By this time the white squadron had entirely defeated their enemies, admiral Everitz, his vice-admiral De Uries, and his rear-admiral Koenders being all killed, the vice-admiral of Zealand taken, and another ship of 50 guns burnt. The prince and duke fought De Ruyter ship to ship, disabled the *Gelderland*, which was one of his seconds, killed the captain of another, and mortally wounded two more; upon which the Dutch squadron began to fly. Vice admiral Van Nes however stood bravely by De Ruyter, and received great damage; but being at last deserted by all except seven ships, was obliged to retreat. De Ruyter's ship was so miserably shattered, and his crew so fatigued with the engagement, that he could make but little resistance; so that nothing but the want of wind hindered the English from boarding him. As for admiral Van Trump he was engaged with Sir Jeremy Smith at a distance, and therefore could not assist his friends. As his was the strongest squadron of the Dutch fleet, and Smith's the weakest of the English, we had no great advantage on that side; some however we had, vice-admiral Trump's ship being disabled, and his rear-admiral killed.

Admiral Ruyter continued his retreat that night, and the next day prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle pursued him with part of the red squadron as fast as the wind would permit. Soon after a fireship bore down upon the Dutch admiral, and missed very little of setting him on fire. They then cannonaded again, when De Ruyter found himself so hard pressed, and his fleet in such imminent danger, that in a fit of despair he cried out, "My GOD, what a wretch am I, that amongst so many thousand bullets, not one will ease me of my pain!" By degrees

degrees however he drew near the shoals on the coast of Holland, where the English could not follow him. Upon this occasion prince Rupert insulted the Dutch admiral, by sending a little shallop called *the Fanfan*, with two small guns on board, which being rowed near De Ruyter's vessel, fired upon him for two hours together; but at last a ball from the Dutch admiral, so damaged his contemptible enemy, that the men were forced to row for their lives. The enemy being driven over the flats into the Wylings, the English sailed to Schonewelt, the usual rendezvous of the Dutch fleet.

This was the completest and most apparent victory gained in the whole war. The fleet was entirely defeated, and the two great admirals, de Ruyter and Van Trump, had nothing to do but to lay the blame on each other, which they did with all the aggravating circumstances they could devise. In this battle the Dutch lost 20 ships, four of their admirals were killed, with a great many captains, and near 4000 men killed, and 3000 wounded. The English had only *the Resolution* burnt, three captains killed, and about 300 private men. The Dutch, however, artfully spread a report among the common people, that victory had declared for them, and that the English fleet would shortly be totally demolished; but in less than six weeks our fleet insulted their coast, which undeviated the people, and spread confusion everywhere, and occasioned prodigious tumults. They reproached their governors not only with want of courage and fortitude, but with want of probity, by imposing on a nation they ought to protect.

These were the last actions performed at sea by the duke of Albermarle, who found, at his return, the city of London in ashes. In the year 1667, when the Dutch attempted to burn our ships in the river Thames, the duke was immediately thought of, as the fittest person to rouse the dejected spirits of the people by his presence, and frustrate this expedition of the Dutch: nor was his majesty disappointed, for by his prudent orders the attempt of the Dutch was, in a great measure, defeated.

Soon after the conclusion of the Dutch war, he retired from public business, determining to spend the remainder of his days in preparing for that dissolution, which he knew could be at no great distance; for his distemper, which was a dropsy, daily increased, and on the 30th of December, 1668, put a period to his life.

He was a strong, well-built man, of a good presence, and very able to endure fatigue. These advantages of nature were encreased by his manner of living. He always rose early, and was very moderate in his diet, eat only one meal a-day, and that homely and heartily. He was a tender and constant husband, an indulgent father, and a kind master. He possessed an extraordinary degree of courage, joined with an equal degree of patience and presence of mind. These qualities rendered him equally dear to his king and country, enjoying the affection of both, without incurring the jealousy of either.

Admiral MONTAGUE.

Edward Montague, afterwards earl of Sandwich, was descended from an ancient and noble family; he was born on the twenty-seventh of July, 1635, and after receiving a liberal education, received a commission from the parliament the twentieth of August, 1643. He was present at the storming of Lincoln on the sixth of May, 1644; at the battle of Marston Moor, on the second of July in the same year; and at that of Naseby in the succeeding; in all which he remarkably distinguished himself, though not twenty years of age.

At the conclusion of the Dutch war he was made a commander in the fleet; and, in the year 1656, joined with Blake, in his expedition to the Mediterranean.

When captain Stainer took the galleons, the admiral was very careful to send a particular account of the treasure to England as soon as they were taken; and, on his being appointed to convoy them home, dispatched another express, desiring that some persons might be sent down to meet the fleet at Portsmouth, to take charge of the treasure, and make a farther search into the loading of the galleons.

After the death of Oliver, admiral Montague commanded the fleet sent to the north; but the parliament thought proper to tie him down by very strict instructions, leaving him no real power to act but in conjunction with their commissioners, colonel Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and Mr Thomas Bunn.

Soon after his arrival in the Sound, king Charles II. thought proper to make a trial of his constancy, and accordingly dispatched two letters, one for the admiral, and the other for chancelor Hyde. This letter, joined with the persuasions of a near relation, who placed the merits of the royal cause in the most advantageous point of light, had so great an effect on our admiral, that he returned to his duty with that ardour and sincerity common to great minds, when convinced that they have persisted in errors. His majesty requested that the fleet might return immediately to England, in order to be ready to act in conjunction with Sir George Booth, and several other persons, who had determined to hazard their lives and fortunes in the service of their country. The admiral weighed attentively this proposal, and at last determined to embrace it; being persuaded, that if this fortunate opportunity was lost, another would not quickly offer.

The admiral, however, reflected so closely on the proposal sent him by his majesty, that Algernon Sidney perceived something more than ordinary

diary had affected him, and by his artful management nearly discovered the whole secret. At last the admiral, observing his suspicions, called a council of war, laid before them the state of the British navy, and plainly shewed that there was little hopes of doing their country any service; adding, that as they had no authority to fight, they might as well continue inactive at home as abroad. He then expatiated on the struggles then making in England between the army and the parliament; and observed, that as a new government was to be settled, they ought to have a share in the transaction. He concluded with observing, that provisions were already scarce in the fleet; that supplies could not be procured without the greatest difficulty, and therefore it was necessary, if they determined to continue where they were, to determine also to live upon short allowance. The council were not long in deciding the question; they were convinced of the reasons given by the admiral, and unanimously agreed to return to England. Accordingly, the admiral got under sail with the greatest expedition, and steered for the British coast.

On the fleet's arrival, the admiral set out immediately for London, where he found the face of affairs strangely altered. Sir George Booth was in the Tower, the parliament restored to their authority, and a strong charge sent over against himself by colonel Sidney. He however defended his conduct with so much wisdom and eloquence, that the house was satisfied with dismissing him from the command of the fleet, and appointing Lawson, a rigid anabaptist, to succeed him.

Mr Montague perceiving that he could now do the royal party no service, retired to his estate, and refused to have any concern in the public transactions, till general Monk's scheme for restoring the king was ripe for execution, when he was, with his majesty's approbation, restored to his command. He expected to have met with great opposition from Lawson at his first coming on board the fleet; but, to his surprise, found him as ready to serve his majesty as he was himself. This conduct of Lawson induced him to lay aside all reserve, and on receiving his majesty's letter directed to himself and general Monk, he immediately sailed with the fleet to Holland, leaving only two or three ships to attend the parliament's commissioners; a step which sufficiently demonstrated his zeal for the royal cause, and greatly endeared him to his majesty, who, to screen Mr Montague from being deemed guilty of disrespect in leaving the parliament's commissioners so few ships to attend them, sent him a commission that was antedated.

Every thing being ready for his majesty's return, admiral Montague had the honour of conveying him to England, and at his majesty's landing was honoured with the *Noble order of the Garter*. And on the 12th of June he was created *Baron Montague of St Neots* in the county of Huntingdon, *Viscount Hinchingbrooke* in the same county, and *Earl of Sandwich* in Kent. At the same time he was sworn one of his majesty's privy council, made master of the king's wardrobe, admiral of the par-

low seas, and lieutenant-admiral to the duke of York, as lord high-admiral of England.

At the breaking out of the Dutch war in 1664, his lordship commanded the blue squadron, and by his vigilance great numbers of the enemy's ships were taken.

He had also a principal share in the great battle fought on the third of June 1665, wherein the Dutch lost their admiral Opdam, and had 18 of their ships taken, and 14 destroyed: and soon after attacked the fleet of Dutch merchantmen in Bergen harbour, on the coast of Norway. In his return he was overtaken by a storm, which did considerable damage to his ships, and soon drove them a great way to the northward; but fortunately he fell in with a large fleet of Dutch merchant ships under a stout convoy. The admiral however attacked them; and, notwithstanding the badness of the weather, he took eight of their men of war, two East-India ships, and 20 sail of their merchantmen. Nor was this all, for on the ninth of September, the fleet overtook another convoy, consisting of 18 sail of merchantmen, the greatest part of which were taken, together with two men of war, and above a 1000 prisoners.

In the spring of the year 1666, his lordship was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of Madrid, to negotiate a peace between Spain and Portugal; and conducted his business with such address, that notwithstanding the difficulties which were necessary to be removed, an advantageous treaty between Spain and England was signed on the thirteenth of May 1667, and his lordship did not arrive till the same month of the preceding year. He then applied himself to the principal end of his commission, the negotiating a peace between Spain and Portugal; and though the Spaniards were totally averse to make a peace with Portugal, and own it for a separate kingdom, yet his lordship found a method of overcoming their prejudices, and a treaty of peace between the two kingdoms was signed on the thirteenth of February 1668.

After concluding these treaties so advantageous to both nations, he left the court of Madrid, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 19th of September following; and at his coming to court, was received with all the marks of respect and esteem, both by the king and duke.

Soon after his return, the king thought proper to erect a council for inspecting all matters relating to trade in general, and to encourage that carried on with our plantations in particular. And being, at the same time, desirous of placing at the head of this board, a person, whose abilities and probity were equal to so great a trust, he pitched upon the earl of Sandwich, who was accordingly sworn president, on the third of August 1670. Here he exerted his abilities in the service of his country; and being equally an enemy to faction and arbitrary power, he gave no small disturbance to the ministry known by the name of the CABAL. Nor did he ever regard the birth and interest of any person; but conferred the vacant posts in the navy, on merit, wherever he found it. It was no recommendation to be related to a peer or other person of distinction;

stinction: if the person had merit, he was sure of his favour; but no interest could supply its defect. Hence we shall not be surprized that the fleet was commanded by such gallant officers, nor that the earl of Sandwich was the darling of the seamen.

On the breaking out of the last Dutch war, his lordship again commanded the blue squadron, under the duke of York, in the famous battle of Solebay on the 28th of May 1672, when the English were surprized by the Dutch; but had the duke of York taken the advice of his lordship, the fleet had left that bay the evening before.

Early in the morning of the 28th his royal highness, on receiving advice, that the Dutch were approaching, made a signal to weigh and stand out of the bay; but many of the ships were obliged to cut their cables, not having time to get up their anchors. The blue squadron formed first, and stood out of the bay, the red next, and the white in its proper station, but far a-stern. The earl of Sandwich hoisted his flag on board the *Royal James*, a stout ship, carrying 100 pieces of cannon, and 800 fighting men. And perceiving that the rest of the fleet had not time to form in a proper manner, he fell with the greatest fury on the squadron commanded by Van Ghent; by which means, the whole fleet had an opportunity of drawing into a line of battle. Captain Brakel is a sixty gun ship, called the *Great Holland*, not doubting the assistance of his squadron, attacked the *Royal James*, but was soon disabled, together with several other ships of war who successively fought her; three fire ships were also sent to burn her, but were all sunk in the attempt. By this time, however, the *Royal James* was reduced to a mere wreck, her rigging shot to pieces, her hull pierced through and through in numbers of places, and the greatest part of her men killed; so that it was impossible for the admiral to retreat. He might indeed have been assisted by his vice-admiral Sir Joseph Jordan, if that gentleman had not been more desirous of relieving the duke. When the earl therefore saw Sir Joseph pass him, without endeavouring to lend him any assistance, he said to those who stood near him, "There is nothing left for us now, but to defend the ship to the last man." They well knew that by the last man he meant himself; and accordingly, when a fourth fire-ship had grappled him, he begged his captain Sir Richard Haddock, and all his servants, to get into the long-boat and save themselves, which they did; but several of the sailors refused to quit their commander, and accordingly perished with him, the ship blowing up about noon the same day.

Thus perished the gallant earl of Sandwich! a man who carried the glory of the English flag to the highest pitch; shewed posterity, that virtue is the basis of true courage; and politicians, that when genius is not wanting, the little arts of chicanery and cunning are far from being necessary. In short, he was a true Englishman; he detested faction and arbitrary power, cherished merit wherever he found it, and at last sacrificed himself to the service of his country.

About a fortnight after the battle, his lordship's body was found floating

ing on the water ; and being known by the order on his coat, was conveyed to Harwich, and from thence, in the most solemn manner, to Westminster, where it was deposited in the north side of the earl of Albemarle's vault, in king Henry VII.'s chapel.



Sir EDWARD SPRAGGE.

Authors have been silent with regard to the birth and family of Sir Edward Spragge; the first mention of him is in 1665, when we find him a captain in the first engagement with the Dutch, when he behaved with the greatest resolution and conduct, giving a sufficient specimen of what might soon be expected from him. The duke of York was so sensible of his merit, that at the return of the fleet, when his majesty went on board the *Royal Charles*, he received the honour of knighthood. He also recommended himself to the duke of Albemarle, in the four days battle of June 1666, and in the succeeding battle fought on the 24th of July, when he carried a flag under Sir Jeremiah Smith, admiral of the blue squadron.

At the close of the war, he equally distinguished himself, when the Dutch attempted to burn our ships at Chatham, where he defended the fort of Sheerness, which was attacked by the enemy on the 10th of June 1667 : and though his garrison was very small, the fort unfinished, and, consequently, little capable of defence; yet he continued to defend himself till it would have been construed rashness to have persisted longer, and then made a good retreat with his little garrison. This attempt however convinced him, that it was of no consequence to attempt a defence by land, and accordingly he set himself to collect all the force possible by sea; and though this amounted to no more than five frigates, seventeen fireships, and some tenders; yet when the Dutch admiral Van Nes, after making an attempt upon Harwich, returned to the mouth of the Thames, Sir Edward engaged him near the Hope. The contest was indeed very unequal, but being little wind, Sir Edward by dexterously towing his ships, burnt eleven of their fireships with six of his own, and would have done more injury to the Dutch fleet, had not a strong gale sprung up, which obliged him to retire under the cannon of Tilbury fort. This did not however discourage Sir Edward; he attacked the Dutch admiral the next day a second time, and by his prudent management of his fireships, threw their whole fleet in such confusion as obliged them to retreat, and even burn their last fireship to prevent her falling into the hands of the English. Sir Edward followed them, and being joined by another squadron of fireships from Harwich, he attacked them with still more success; he even attempted to burn the vice-admiral of Zealand,

Zealand, together with another large ship of war, and was so near executing his purpose, that above one hundred men leaped overboard to avoid the flames and perished.

After the conclusion of the Dutch war, it was determined to send Sir Edward with a squadron to chastise the insolence of the Algerines. Several had before been sent for the same purpose, and always succeeded so far as to make a peace; but these treaties were no sooner concluded, and the ships retired, than the corsairs again renewed their depredations, to the great detriment of the merchants, and the prejudice of trade in general.

A strong squadron was accordingly fitted out, and Sir Edward sailed from Spithead in the spring of the year 1671. After his arrival in the Mediterranean, and being joined by the other ships then in that sea, his squadron consisted of about twelve sail of ships. Here he cruised for some time without meeting with any of the Algerine corsairs; but about the latter end of April he received intelligence that there were several Algerine men of war in Bugia bay. Upon this the admiral called a council of war, in which it was determined to attack them immediately. Accordingly Sir Edward shaped his course for the bay, but in his passage was overtaken by a storm, in which the *Eagle* fireship was disabled, and one of his frigates sprung her main-mast, and was obliged to bear away for the Spanish shore. This however did not intimidate Sir Edward; he refitted the *Eagle* with the greatest expedition, and continued his course for Bugia bay. The wind continued fair till Sir Edward came within shot of the castles, when it fell calm; and when the gale again sprang up, it blew directly off shore. Nor was the next day more favourable than the preceding, the wind shifting every half hour; this determined Sir Edward to attempt that with his boats during the night, which he found impossible to do with his ships in the day. Accordingly, about 12 o'clock, all the boats manned and armed, attended by the *Eagle* fireship, which also went with oars, commanded by Mr Nugent, his eldest lieutenant, rowed in for the bay. But the night proving very dark, and the ships lying under the high land, the boats passed them without knowing it. This obliged the lieutenant to leave another boat with the fireship besides her own, and endeavour to discover the Algerine fleet, and perceived in a few minutes that he was within pistol-shot of the ships he was seeking. Upon which the lieutenant concluding his business done, returned to find the fireship; but, to his astonishment, saw her all in flames. This accident had given the alarm to the enemy, so that the lieutenant was obliged to row off with his boats, and the scheme of destroying the whole naval force of Algiers, without the loss of a single man, rendered abortive.

The infidels now began to prepare for their defence, which they had before neglected: and in order to this, they hauled their ships on shore, unrigged them, and with their yards, top-masts, and cables buoyed up with casks, made a strong boom, for the wind proving still contrary the English

English could not get into the bay, for several days: and what still increased the perplexity of the admiral was, that a drunken gunner, by firing off a pistol, set the only small fireship he had left, in flames. The *Little Victory* was now the only one remaining, and she drew too much water, to get along-side of the Algerine ships.

Sir Edward however determined to do his utmost to destroy the enemy's fleet, and therefore lightened the *Little Victory*, that she might not draw above eight feet water. And on the ninth of May, a fine breeze springing up, Sir Edward made the signal for the ships to form into a line; and soon after came to an anchor close under the castle walls, notwithstanding the Algerines kept a continual fire for two hours, the time spent in cutting the boom; which was not, however, done without a considerable loss among the boats crews who performed it.

As soon as the boom was cut, the *Little Victory* stood in, and run up athwart the bowsprits of the Algerine ships, which were hauled up close to the castle, and then lay a-ground, so that it was impossible for them to stir. The *Little Victory* being grappled to the ships, was set on fire, and destroyed every ship of the enemy. But captain Harris who commanded her, together with his master's mate, gunner, and one of the seamen, were desperately wounded, when she first entered the bay. The fleet which the *Little Victory* burnt, consisted of three ships of 34 guns, one of 28, one of 26, and two of 24: a Genoese ship, a small English prize, and a settee. This loss was impossible to be retrieved, the Algerines having put all their best ordnance on board these ships, which were also double manned and officered, and their sailors all picked men, under the command of old Terkey their admiral. This fleet was fitted in so extraordinary a manner on purpose to fight Sir Edward Spragge; well knowing that he would not be trifled with, and that it would be absolutely necessary to defeat him, or suffer a defeat themselves.

Having thus honourably performed the business for which he sailed to the Mediterranean, and concluded an advantageous peace with the Algerines, he returned to Spithead, with the squadron under his command, in the spring of the year 1672. And the Dutch war breaking out soon after, when Sir Edward commanded the blue squadron, and had a principal share in almost every victory obtained at sea, till the unfortunate battle of the 11th of August 1673, in which this great admiral lost his life by a chance shot, which piercing the boat in which he was passing from one ship to another, the boat sunk, and he was drowned.

It seems there had long subsisted a secret desire, between Van Trump the Dutch admiral, and Sir Edward Spragge, of engaging each other; and they more than once had an opportunity of gratifying it. At the beginning of the battle Sir Edward was on board the *Royal Prince*, and Trump in the *Golden Lion*, when the Dutch admiral avoided coming to a close engagement, but both ships were so disabled, that Sir Edward went on board the *St George*, and Trump on board the *Comet*. The fight was now renewed with greater fury than before, till the *St George* was

was so battered that Sir Edward endeavoured to go on board the *Royal Charles*, but was prevented by a cannon's shot striking the boat, whereby he sunk; and the gallant admiral perished. But though he lost his life, his memory will live in the heart of every Englishman, who has any regard for the greatest valour, blended with the most prudent conduct.

GEORGE LEGGE.

George Legge, Esq; was the eldest son of colonel William Legge, groom of the bed-chamber to King Charles I. and brought up under that gallant admiral Sir Edward Spragge, who had married the colonel's sister. When he first entered in the navy, he was only seventeen years of age; but before he was twenty, his gallant behaviour so effectually recommended him to his majesty, that he promoted him to the command of the *Pembroke*, in the 1667.

In 1671 he was made captain of the *Fairfax*; and in the year 1672, he was removed into the *Royal Catharine*, in which ship he obtained the highest reputation, having beat the Dutch off after they had boarded her, and the ship on the point of sinking. He, however, found means to stop her leaks, and afterwards carried her safe into port.

In the year 1673 he was made governor of *Portsmouth*, master of the horse, and gentleman to the Duke. Several other posts were also successively conferred upon him: and on the second of December 1682, he was created a peer of this realm, by the title of baron of *Dartmouth* in the county of *Devon*.

The port of *Tangier*, in Africa, having for some years been attended with a great expence, to keep the fortifications in repair, and maintain in it a numerous garrison, to protect it from the Moors, who watched every opportunity of seizing it, the King determined to demolish the fortifications, and bring the garrison to England; but the difficulty was to perform it without the Moors having any suspicion of the design. Lord Dartmouth was appointed to perform this difficult affair; and accordingly, in the year 1683, he was appointed governor of *Tangier*, and general of his majesty's forces in Africa, as well as admiral of the fleet, that no clashing opinions between commanders might prevent him from executing his instructions. At his arrival he prepared every thing necessary for putting the intended design in execution, blew up the whole fortifications of the place, and returned to England with the garrison. The King was so highly pleased with his having

effectually executed his instructions, that he made him a present of ten thousand pounds, besides several other acknowledgments.

When King James II. ascended the throne, he was raised to posts of still greater consequence, being made master of the horse to the King, general of the ordnance, constable of the tower of London, captain of an independent company of foot, and one of the privy council. All these employments he executed with such diligence and reputation, that he was equally the favourite of prince and people, being considered as the greatest encourager of merit, and one who acted in the most upright and conscientious manner. King James always placed the greatest value on his friendship; and when he was thoroughly convinced, that the prince of Orange intended to invade England, he appointed him commander of the fleet; and had he not been prevented by the wind and other accidents, from coming up with the prince of Orange, a bloody fight would undoubtedly have ensued.

After the revolution he retired from public business; but the great regard he always expressed for the abdicated King, rendered him suspected that he carried on a correspondence with him; and he was accordingly committed to the tower, where he ended his days on the twenty-first of October 1691, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

An accident which happened during his confinement in the tower, sufficiently proved how greatly he was beloved by the sailors. A report had for some time prevailed, that he was not only confined, but ill used in the tower. This rumour so affected the sailors, that they assembled in great numbers on tower-hill, and expressed their resentment in such terms, that it was thought expedient to desire lord Dartmouth to confer with them; which he accordingly did, and fully satisfied them, that the report had not the least foundation. Upon which they gave a loud huzza, and dispersed immediately.



EDWARD RUSSEL.

Edward Russel, Esq; was born in the year 1653. His Father, Edward Russel, Esq; was the son of Francis Russel earl of Bedford. He was designed by his father for the sea-service, and received a suitable education; but his elder brother dying in the year 1674, he succeeded to the family-estate. However, in the year 1690, he was appointed admiral of the blue, and soon after advanced to the command of the whole fleet; in which capacity he acted at the battle of La Hogue, when the whole naval power of France was almost totally destroyed.

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But such eminent services rendered to his country, could not defend him from the malignity of party; so that he was dismissed from his employments, at the beginning of the succeeding year, and was again restored in November following.

In the year 1694, he commanded the fleet in the Mediterranean, where he blocked up the French fleet in Toulon, checked the progress of the arms of France in Catalonia, and kept all the Italian princes in awe.

In the year 1695, the French had formed a design of invading England, and, in order to this, had collected a powerful army near Dieppe, where the troops lay ready to embark. On the first advice of this, admiral Russel was dispatched with a strong fleet to the coast of France; which struck such terror into the enemy, that the intended invasion was laid aside.

These and other eminent services, so effectually recommended him to King William, that he was created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of baron of Shingey, in the county of Cambridge, viscount Barfleur, in the duchy of Normandy, and earl of Orford in the county of Suffolk, on the seventh of May 1697: and soon after made vice-admiral of England.

Party-malice, however, still pursued him: so that he was impeached by the house of commons on the ninth of May 1701. He foresaw the storm, resigned all his posts, and was honourably acquitted of the charge on the twenty-third of June following.

After this he went no more to sea, but served his country some time as first commissioner of the admiralty in the reign of Queen Anne, till the change of the ministry in the year 1710.

On the decease of Queen Anne, he was chosen one of the lords justices till the arrival of King George I. who appointed him one of the privy council, and first commissioner of the admiralty, in which high station he died at his house in Covent Garden, on the twenty sixth of November 1727, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.



Sir JOHN BERRY.

MR John Berry was the son of the reverend Mr Daniel Berry, vicar of Kneveton and Maland in Devonshire, and put apprentice to Mr Robert Mering, a merchant and partner of several ships at Plymouth, in whose ship he sailed for some time, and was twice taken by the Spaniards. But frequent losses so reduced his master, that he was obliged to sell his ships, and having no further employment for Mr

Berry, gave up his indenture; upon which he repaired to London, and was appointed boatswain on board the Swallow-ketch, commanded by captain Isam, bound to the West Indies in quest of a pirate, who had for some time infested those seas.

The Swallow was at first very unfortunate; for, being overtaken by a storm in the gulf of Florida, they were obliged to cut away all her masts, and two frigates which accompanied her were totally lost. After great difficulties the Swallow reached Jamaica, where she was refitted, and Mr Berry appointed lieutenant.

In three weeks after her leaving Jamaica, they discovered the pirate riding at anchor in a bay of the island of St Domingo. The pirate had twenty guns and sixty men; whereas the Swallow had only forty men and eight small guns. Captain Isam, on comparing the pirate's strength with his own, thought proper to consult his men, before he engaged; accordingly all hands were ordered upon deck, and the captain began his speech in the following manner: "Gentlemen, the blades we are going to attack are men at arms, old buccaneers, and superior to us in number, and the force of their ship; and therefore I would have your opinion whether—" "Sir," interrupted lieutenant Berry, "we are men at arms too, and, what is more, honest men, and fight under the King's commission; and, if you have no stomach for fighting, be pleased to walk down into your cabin." The crew applauded this motion, and declared one and all for captain Berry, who accordingly prepared to engage the pirate, though under very great disadvantages; for the pirate being to windward, the Swallow was obliged to make two tacks under her lee, by which she received two broadsides, before she could get into her proper station. This, however, was far from intimidating captain Berry, who, finding himself far enough to windward, put the Ketch about, and laid the pirate on board on his starboard bow, pouring in his whole broadside, whereby twenty two of the pirate's hands were killed, and soon after the rest submitted.

This gallant action recommended him to the notice of the government, so that he was appointed commander of the Coronation of fifty-six guns, with orders to sail to the West Indies, and protect the trade, which then suffered greatly from the enemy.

At his arrival at Barbadoes he found that the enemy at St Kits were fitting out twenty-two men of war and frigates, six large transports of their own, and four hired from the Dutch, in order to take the island of Nevis. To prevent this attempt of the French, the governor of Barbadoes fitted out eight large merchant ships, and converted them into men of war, which having joined commodore Berry, he sailed for Nevis; but just as he turned the point of that island, one of his best ships blew up by accident, and at the time the French fleet appeared in sight. Such an unfortunate affair happening just at the appearance of the enemy, damped the spirits of his men; which he perceiving, spoke

to them in the following manner : " You have seen an English ship " blow up, let us try if we cannot blow up one of the French : there " they are boys, and if we do not beat them, they will beat us." By this time the French fleet were come up with them, and Berry immediately attacked the French admiral, and was so bravely seconded by the rest of his squadron, that, after an engagement of thirteen hours, he forced their mighty fleet to take shelter under the cannon of St Christopher's, whither he pursued them, sent in a fire-ship and burnt the admiral. As soon as he saw the French ship on fire, he said to his seamen, " I " told you in the morning we should burn a Frenchman before night ; " to-morrow we will try what we can do with the rest." But the enemy wisely prevented his design, by stealing away while he was refitting his ships.

At his return he was greatly caressed by the ministry, and, for his gallant behaviour at the famous battle of Southwold bay, where he commanded a seventy gun ship, received the honour of knighthood.

When the exigence of affairs required the duke of York to repair into Scotland, captain Berry commanded the Gloucester frigate, on board which his royal highness embarked, and which was presently after lost in the mouth of the Humber, by the carelessness of the pilot. In the midst of this confusion, Sir John preserved the presence of mind, for which he was always remarkable, and by that means saved the Duke, and as many of his retinue as the long-boat would carry.

Soon after this he was promoted to a flag, and commanded as vice-admiral under lord Dartmouth, in that critical expedition, the demolition of Tangier ; where he gave the most undoubted testimonies both of his courage and conduct ; and on his return he was made a commissioner of the navy, which post he held to his death.

He was always highly in the favour of King James II. who made choice of him to command under lord Dartmouth, when the prince of Orange landed in England ; and when his lordship thought proper to leave the fleet, the whole command devolved on Sir John Berry, who held it till the ships were laid up.

After the revolution Sir John continued in his posts, and was often consulted by King William, who had a great opinion of his abilities in military affairs ; and his conduct in every station procured him the esteem of all that knew him : so that it is still a secret from what hand he received his death ; for he was poisoned in the beginning of February 1691, on board one of his majesty's ships at Portsmouth, when he was paying her off, being then in the fifty-sixth year of his age. His body was conveyed from Portsmouth to London, and interred in the chancel of Stepney-church, where an elegant monument was erected to his memory.

JOHN

JOHN BENBOW, Esq;

ADMIRAL Benbow was one of the most eminent seamen mentioned in our history. He was born about the year 1650, and descended from a very ancient, worthy, and honourable family in Shropshire; but most of his relations were greatly reduced in point of fortune, by their steady adherence to King Charles I. and the readiness they shewed in assisting King Charles II. for the recovery of his rights, when he entered England at the head of a Scotch army; and this accidental poverty has induced some writers, who were no friends to this truly great man, to represent him as a person sprung from the very dregs of the people.

His father dying while his son was very young, left him absolutely unprovided for, except his profession, which was that of the sea, a method of life entirely adapted to the temper of Benbow, so that it was no wonder, that before he was thirty years of age, he became master and principal owner of the Benbow frigate, employed in the Mediterranean trade, in which he would have acquired a good estate, had not an accident which happened to him during the last voyage he made, given a new turn to his fortunes, and brought him to serve in the British navy, with equal reputation to himself, and advantage to his country, to which he rendered many services of the greatest importance.

In 1686 captain Benbow, in his own frigate, being attacked in his passage to Cadiz, by a Sallee rover, very gallantly defended himself against a great superiority of numbers, till at last the Moors boarded him, but were soon beat off, leaving thirteen men dead behind them on the frigate's deck. These heads the captain ordered to be cut off, and thrown into a tub of pickle. Upon his going ashore at Cadiz, he directed a negro boy to follow him, with the Moors heads in a sack. Scarce was he landed before the custom-house officers enquired of the servant, what he had in his sack? To this the captain answered, "Salt provisions for my own use." "Possibly so," answered the officers, "but we insist upon seeing them." The captain alledged, that he was no stranger there, that he did not use to run goods, and pretended to take it ill that he was suspected. The officers told him, that the magistrates were not far off, and that if they were satisfied with his word, his servant might then carry the provisions where he would; but otherwise they could not grant any such dispensation. The captain consenting to this proposal, they went in a body to the custom-house. The magistrates treated the captain with great civility, and told him, they were sorry to make a point of such a trifle, but as he had refused to

shew

shew the contents of his sack to the officers, they were obliged to demand an inspection ; and that, as they did not question their being salt provisions, it could be no harm one way or other to shew them. "I told you," says the captain, with a stern countenance, "they were salt provisions for my own use : Cæsar, throw them down on the table ; and, gentlemen, if you like them, they are at your service." The Spaniards were greatly struck at the sight of the Moors heads, and no less surprised at his account of the adventure, who, with so inconsiderable a force, had been able to repulse such a superior number. The officers immediately sent a detail of the whole affair to Madrid ; and the King of Spain, Charles II. was so pleased with it, that he desired to see the English captain, who accordingly took a journey to court, where being very graciously received, he was not only dismissed with a handsome present, but his majesty wrote a letter in his favour to James II. of England, who upon his return gave him a ship, which was his first step in the royal navy.

After the revolution he was employed, at the request of the merchants, in several channel cruizes, in which he distinguished himself by frequent successes, not only protecting the trade, but annoying the enemy, but was remarkably assiduous in prying into the French ports, getting intelligence, and forming schemes for distressing their commerce. For which reason he was commonly pitched on to command the squadrons sent to bombard the enemy's ports, and in all these expeditions acquitted himself with a conduct equal to his bravery, always enforcing his commands by his own example ; for he went constantly in person in his boat, both to encourage and direct the operations of his seamea and engineers.

Such indefatigable activity could not fail to recommend him to so discerning a prince as King William ; who, from a sense of captain Benbow's merit, promoted him early to a flag ; and afterwards employed him, as the most experienced seaman, to watch the motions of the French at Dunkirk, and prevent Dubart's degradations ; in which he acquitted himself with so much diligence, by preserving our merchant ships, that when libels flew about with great freedom, against every other officer of rank in the fleet, he escaped without the slightest glance of censure ; when, had he been guilty of excesses in point of power, or omissions in regard of duty, it is not at all likely that they would have been concealed. The truth of the matter was, that the sea-faring people looked on rear-admiral Benbow as their grand patron, who not only treated them well, when under his command, but always shewed a readiness to interpose in their behalf, when ill used by others. At that time a dispute arising about the expediency of preferring mere seamen (tarpawlins, as they were then called) or gentlemen in the navy ; admiral Benbow, when consulted by his majesty on that head, gave it as his opinion, that it was best to employ both ; that the former should never want preferment, for want of recommendation, nor the latter gain it merely from that inducement. He also hated party-di-
stinctions,

stinctions, and thought that a seaman's merit should be judged from his behaviour, when on board, and not from the company he kept when a shore. He therefore lived in good terms with the admirals of different parties, who, upon every emergency, were ready to give their testimony to his valour and conduct.

This year he was sent out with a small squadron to cruise before Dunkirk, where he saved our Virginia and West-India fleet from the French privateers, for which service he had the thanks of the merchants. He also would have prevented Dubart from coming out, had Vandergoes, the Dutch rear-admiral, been able to second him, or if the admiralty had taken his advice: for observing in August, that ten French frigates were hawled into the basin to clean, in order, as he judged, and which afterwards proved true, to put to sea the next spring-tide, he wrote up to the board, to desire, as his ships were foul, they would order four of their best sailors to Sheerness to clean, and the others might come to the Downs, not only to take in water, but also to be thrown down and scrubbed; all which might be effected before the French could get over the bar: but this was not then thought adviseable, though afterwards, when it was too late, he received orders for that purpose. By this means the French got out with five clean ships, which, however, did not hinder him from pursuing them as well as he could, and took a small Dunkirk privateer, which had done a deal of mischief; but he was soon after ordered home.

It is very remarkable, that as the disappointments we met with in the course of this war, occasioned very loud complaints against those who were entrusted with the management of our maritime affairs, and against several of our admirals, there was not a word said, in any of the warm and bitter pamphlets of those times, to the prejudice of Mr Benbow. On the contrary, the highest encomiums were bestowed on him in many of those pieces, and his vigilance and activity rendered him equally the darling of the seamen and the merchants; the former always giving him the strongest marks of their affection, and the latter frequently returning him thanks for the signal services he did them, and for omitting no opportunity that offered of protecting their commerce, even in cases where he had no particular orders, to direct or require his service. Nor must we consider these passages as owing to his great popularity; for this he never affected. He was a plain down-right seaman, and spoke and acted on all occasions without any respect of persons, and with the utmost freedom.

In the year 1698, the King having formed a design of doing something considerable in the West-Indies, sent thither a small squadron of three fourth rates, under the command of rear-admiral Benbow. He had private instructions from his majesty, to make what observations he could on the Spanish ports and settlements, but to keep fair with the governors, and even grant them assistance, if they desired it: he also received instructions to have a watchful eye on the galleons, as the King

of Spain was then in a very declining condition. Upon his arrival in the West-Indies, in February 1700, he found most of our colonies in a very indifferent situation, occasioned by the warm disputes they were engaged in with their governors, and by sickness, desertion, and other accidents among the forces. The admiral, after disposing of a regiment of foot he carried with him to the Leeward-islands, next sailed to Cartagena to execute his commission, where he met with no agreeable reception from the governor, which the admiral returned in such a plain style, as forced the former to make up his deficiency in civility, by doing justice; he proceeded in the same downright manner with the governor of Porto Bello: yet still the great ends of his commission remained unanswered, for want of a sufficient force to engage the confidence of the Spaniards in him, or to perform any thing, in case the French had a strong fleet there, as it was then expected.

This conduct of the administration, in sending such a small squadron, and so late, was severely censured in parliament, while at the same time the admiral's capacity and integrity were highly complimented by all parties; and upon his return home two years after, from authentic vouchers of his having performed all the services in his power to the merchants and planters, his majesty was pleased to augment his arms, by adding three arrows to the same number of bent bows, which was the family's coat-armorial before.

The whole system of politics in Europe being, by the death of the King of Spain, Charles II. changed upon the admiral's return, and the King perceiving the French perfidy, saw himself obliged to enter on a new war: accordingly he put the fleet into the best condition he could, and gave the command of it to such officers as might be depended on. In consequence of this Mr Benbow was declared vice-admiral of the blue, and was then cruising off Dunkirk, to prevent an invasion, which was apprehended at that time: but satisfying the ministry that there was no danger on that side, it was resolved to send a strong squadron to the West-Indies, which was to consist of two third, and eight fourth rates. It was also thought indispensably necessary, that an officer of approved conduct and courage should be pitched on to have the command, upon the proper management of which, it was thought, the success of the war would greatly depend. Mr Benbow was talked of by the ministry; but his majesty would not hear of it, alledging, that, as he was but just come home from thence, it was but fair that some other officer should take his turn. One or two were named, but, upon being consulted, on some pretext or other, they earnestly requested to be excused; upon which his majesty said merrily, alluding to the dress and appearance of these gentlemen, "Well then, I find we must 'spare our beaus, and send honest Benbow.'" Accordingly he was sent for; and his majesty asked him, whether he was willing to go; assuring him at the same time, that if he was not, he would not take it amiss. To this Mr Benbow answered bluntly, "That he did not understand

" such compliments ; that he thought he had no right to chuse his station ; and that, if his majesty thought fit to send him to the East or West Indies, or any where else, he would chearfully execute his orders as became him." Thus the command of the West-India squadron was given to our admiral.

Upon his arrival at Jamaica, at the close of the year 1701, he made such prudent dispositions for securing our own trade, and annoying that of the enemy, that the French saw all their schemes for attacking Jamaica, and the Leeward-islands, entirely frustrated ; and, notwithstanding of all the vapouring of the French, vice-admiral Benbow remained master of those seas, by taking several prizes, and countenancing our private trade on the Spanish coasts.

This experienced commander having resolved to attack the smallest of the enemy's squadrons in those seas, after having given the utmost disturbance to their settlements in St Domingo, he next sailed in quest of M. du Caffe, with whom he came up, and engaged, and fought gallantly for five days. In this action he not only gave signal proofs of his own courage and conduct, but his ship's company demonstrated their fidelity and attachment to him, since he could not have maintained the engagement so long, in the circumstances he then was, if his officers, and the common sailors had not been very affectionate. And that, in all likelihood, he would have gained a complete victory, had it not been for the cowardice or treachery of his captains, the following short letter written by du Caffe, after his arrival at Cartagena, will abundantly demonstrate. The original is still in the hands of the admiral's family. " Sir, I had little hopes " on Monday last, but to have supped in your cabbin : yet it pleased " GOD to order it otherwise ; I am thankful for it. As for those cow- " ardly captains who deserted you, hang them up ; for by — they " deserve it. Du Caffe."

After the admiral's return to Jamaica, his first care was to provide for the officers who behaved well in the engagement, and then bring the others to justice, who basely failed in their duty ; his eagerness in this, perhaps, gave occasion to a deficiency in point of form, as he granted a commission for their trial, which has been thought illegal : but he acted in this from the following excuseable motives ; first, he found himself unable to preside, as he had been ill of a fever from the time his leg was cut off ; and next, had he been in condition to have assisted, his having so great a concern in the affair himself, would have made him decline it. The admiral lived a month after the court-martial was over, being all that time without any hopes of his recovery. Yet, in his illness, he still supported the character of an admiral, giving the necessary orders for the protection of the trade ; and in the letters sent home to his lady, he shewed greater anxiety for the interest of the public, than his own private concerns. The Queen spoke of the loss of this gallant officer with great regret, and would not suffer herself to

be induced to an act of mercy towards those who by their cowardice were guilty of his blood. And his picture presented to the town of Shrewsbury, by his sister in his life-time, the corporation caused to be hung up in the town-hall, in testimony of their regard for so worthy a man.

The vice-admiral left a numerous progeny; but his two sons dying without issue, the two surviving daughters became coheiresses, the eldest of which married Mr Calton, of Milton, in Berkshire.

John Benbow, one of the vice-admiral's sons, independent of his relation to his father, claims some notice here. He was bred to the sea, and went to the East-Indies as fourth mate on board the Degrave, captain Young, and passed through the Downs, February the nineteenth, while the admiral lay ready there to proceed with his squadron to the West-Indies. This ship was seven hundred tons burthen, and carried fifty guns, and was bound for fort St George, where she arrived safely; from thence she sailed for Bengal, where the captain, and first mate dying, the command fell to the second mate, who was the captain's son, and Mr John Benbow succeeded him as second mate.

From Bengal they set sail for the Cape, but in going out of the river the ship ran a-ground. She was, however, got off next high tide, and put to sea undamaged, as they thought, but soon after she was so leaky, that two chain-pumps were continually kept going. Thus they sailed for two months before they reached the island of St Maurice, inhabited by the Dutch, who giving them a kind reception, and, at the same time, all the assistance they could, permitted them to set up a tent on the shore, into which they put all their cargo, in order to search for the leak, which they could not find. After a month's stay there, and taking on board fifty Lascars, or Moorish seamen, they proceeded directly for the Cape. Thus they had one hundred and fifty hands on board. However, it proved fatal, that they put to sea before they had discovered the leak; for it gained so upon them, that, notwithstanding they pumped day and night, they had the utmost difficulty to keep the vessel above water.

The ship's company represented to captain Young, that, it being impracticable to proceed to the Cape, the wisest thing he could do, was to make for the nearest land, which was Madagascar, to the southward of which they had sailed a hundred leagues. The captain complying with this advice, endeavoured to run the ship a-shore, but that was also found impracticable; so that when, within a quarter of mile of the coast, they let go an anchor, then cut down her masts, and rigging, and threw their guns and goods over-board; but it being also found impossible, by this means, to make the ship swim any longer, and having lost their longboat and pinnace, they resolved to make a raft. And accordingly Mr Pratt, their chief mate, and four men going a-shore in a little boat with a rope, proposed to warp the raft. This boat

was staved before it could reach land, but the men escaping, secured the rope, which drew the raft on shore, with all the ship's crew, only the captain remained on board; till finding the ship begin to break to pieces, he threw himself into the sea, and swam to shore. They were soon made prisoners by the King of that part of the island, who caused them to be carried up fifty miles further into the country, where they met with one captain Drummond, and one captain Stewart, with some of their ship's crew, in the same condition, who assured them the King intended to make them serve him in the wars, and would never suffer them to return to Europe; at which they were struck with great consternation.

Upon this, captains Drummond, Stewart, and Young, with Pratt and Benbow, held a consultation, in which it was proposed by captain Drummond, as the only means of recovering their liberty, to seize the black King, and carry him off into some other province of the country, to which more ships frequently resorted. This proposal Mr Benbow warmly seconded, and courageously assisted in the execution of it. Accordingly the King, his son and Queen, were made prisoners, with greater ease than was at first expected. Captain Young released the Queen out of mere pity. A bolder enterprise than this could hardly be conceived; for fifty or sixty white people, and not above half of them armed, to carry off a black prince out of the midst of his capital, in the sight of some thousands of his subjects, better armed than themselves; who were restrained from firing, by captain Young's threatening, that the moment they did, he would directly kill their King. But afterwards the matter was strangely mismanaged; for, upon the negroes proposing to give them six guns in exchange for their King, it was agreed to deliver him up, upon a supposition, that the negroes would desist from any further pursuit; but this Mr Benbow warmly opposed, withal representing to them the fatal consequences of such a wild measure. The King being thus delivered up, the blacks continued to follow them, though at a distance: at last it was agreed to give up the prince too, imagining, that they would entirely give over the pursuit, at the same time taking three of the principal men of the country, as the blacks told them, for hostages, two of whom soon made their escape: upon which the blacks not only pursued, but fired upon them, which hitherto they had refrained from doing. The weakness of their conduct, and the soundness of Mr Benbow's advice, becoming now visible to all of them, and perceiving, that nothing remained for them but to fight, they began to dispose their little army in battle-array. Thirty-six armed men being divided into four parties, were commanded by the three captains, and Mr Benbow; but, after an engagement from noon till six, it was a greed to treat. The negroes demanded their arms, at the same time promising to let them go; which wild measure, by the persuasion of captain Young, was accepted, though strongly opposed by Mr Benbow; however, captains Drummond and Stewart, with four or five

more

more of their people, refused to give up their arms, and got off in the night, together with Mr Benbow, and arrived safe at port Dauphine, the rest being cruelly murdered, except one Robert Drury, a boy of fifteen, whom they saved, and made a slave, continuing among them from that time for about fifteen years, till 1716, when he came away. This Drury afterwards published his travels, in which he informs us, that he saw captain Drummond once after they had parted, who was then at liberty, and lived as happily as could be expected in such a country; but further adds, that he was told the captain had been murdered by a black. With regard to Mr Benbow, after living several years among the negroes in their manner, and going naked, he made his escape on board a Dutch ship, the captain of which having been well acquainted with his father, treated him very kindly.

This Mr John Benbow lived many years afterwards in England, and composed an accurate piece in manuscript, intitled, " A complete description of the south part of Madagascar ;" which having been often borrowed by his acquaintance, it still remains with some of them; nor have the family been hitherto able to recover it. And it would be doing justice to Mr Benbow's memory, besides making a valuable present to the learned, did any who is now possessed of this curiosity, publish it to the world, as it contains many particulars of a commercial, historical, and philosophical nature. But to resume the memorials of our famous admirals.



Sir RALPH DELAVAL.

SIR Ralph Delaval was the son of a gentleman in the north of England, distinguished for his loyalty to King Charles I. and II. He entered very early into the navy, under the patronage of James duke of York, who treated him very kindly, and took care of his preferment; by which means, at the revolution, he was commander of the York, a third rate man of war. He heartily concurred in that public measure, for which reason King William soon made him rear-admiral of the blue, and, at the same time, knighted him: in this station he served under the earl of Torrington, in the sea-fight off Beachyhead, in which the combined fleets of the English and Dutch, were defeated by the French, on the thirtieth of June 1690, but without the least impeachment of his courage or conduct, as is apparent from his being appointed president of the court-martial for the earl's trial, on board the Kent, in December following, and in which he was unanimously acquitted. This transaction, however, created him powerful enemies, notwithstanding his conduct

conduct was irreproachable ; as sufficiently appears from his being immediately declared by his majesty vice-admiral of the blue, in which character he was next year under admiral Russel, and that very winter commanded a squadron in the Soundings ; in which station, if he performed little, it was occasioned by the season of the year, and contrary winds, which obliged him to return four times into Torbay : however, by the punctual execution of his orders, he hindered the French from relieving Limerick, by which means the reduction of Ireland was facilitated.

This year, upon intelligence that the French were fitting out the greatest fleet they ever had at sea, he was appointed to serve under admiral Russel, and declared vice-admiral of the red, and ordered, with a large squadron of English and Dutch ships, to cruize for the homeward bound trade from the Mediterranean, and afterwards join the main fleet. Accordingly, as soon as he had seen seventy of our merchantmen safe into port, he joined admiral Russel on the thirteenth of May at St Helen's.

In a council of war, held on the fifteenth, it was resolved, in consequence of positive orders from Queen Mary, then regent, to sail for the coast of France with the first fair wind ; at the same time the admiral mentioned an intimation he had received from the secretary of state, that several captains of the fleet had secretly assured King James's friends, of their readiness to join them, and bring over a great part of the fleet. As this information was not pointed at any one in particular, in order to satisfy the Queen thoroughly of their loyalty and fidelity, the following address was drawn up on the spot : " We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects and servants, flag-officers, and captains in your majesty's fleet, out of a deep and grateful sense of your majesty's good and just opinion of our loyalty and fidelity, imparted to us by the right honourable admiral Russel, in a letter to him from the earl of Nottingham, principal secretary of state, do, in behalf of ourselves, and all the other officers and seamen, humbly presume to address ourselves to your majesty, at this juncture, to undecieve the world, as to those false and malicious reports, which have been lately spread in prejudice of your majesty's service, by people disaffected to the government, and who have an aversion to the quiet and good of their country ; that there are some among us who are not truly zealous for, and entirely devoted to, the present happy establishment. We do, therefore, most humbly beg leave, to add to our repeated oaths, this assurance of our fidelity : that we will, with all imaginable alacrity and resolution, venture ourselves in the defence of the government, and of the religion and liberty of our country, against all popish invaders whatsoever. And that God Almighty may preserve your majesty's most sacred person, direct your councils, and prosper your arms by sea and land, against your enemies ; may all people say amen with your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects. Dated on board the *Britannia*, at St Helen's, the fifteenth day of May

" 1692."

" 1692." This paper was signed by Sir John Ashby, admiral of the blue, Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red, George Rooke, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue, Sir Cloudesly Shovel, rear-admiral of the red, Richard Carter Esq; rear-admiral of the blue, and all the captains of the fleet; but their names have not been transmitted to us.

May the eighteenth, admiral Russel stood over to the coast of France, and on the nineteenth engaged the enemy in the battle of la Hogue, in which Sir Ralph Delaval, as vice-admiral of the red, in pursuance of the admiral's orders, so formed the rear of the fleet, that several French ships that escaped best, hovering round, and endeavouring to do mischief, were obliged to seek their safety with the rest of their fleet, by a disorderly flight. This circumstance of preserving the rear of our fleet, is by all allowed to have secured us the victory, and contributed principally to the defeat of the French. Besides this, he afterwards destroyed some of the enemy's largest ships, as appears from the following letter, written by himself to the earl of Nottingham, and dated on board the *Royal Sovereign*, near Cherburgh, May the twenty-second, 1692: "On the twenty first instant, admiral Russel having made the signal for the fleet to cut their cables, I observed the French to be forced from the race of Alderny, where they anchored, to the eastward; and finding that some of them endeavoured for the bay of Cherburgh, I stood in for that place, where I found three three-decked ships of the enemy, but so close to the shore, and within some rocks, that it was not safe for me to attempt them, till I had informed myself of the road, they being hawled into the shoal water; I immediately took my boats, and sounded within gun shot of them, which they endeavoured to prevent by firing at us. And, that no time might be lost, I went immediately on board the St Albans, where, for the encouragement of the seamen, I hoisted my flag; and having ordered the Ruby, with two fireships, to attend me, I stood in with them, leaving the great ships without, as drawing too much water. But, coming very near, they galled us so extremely, and finding the fireships could not get in, I judged it best to retreat without shot, and there anchored: and immediately called all the captains, where it was resolved to attempt them in the morning, with all the third and fourth rates and fireships. For, after having drawn them into four fathom and a half of water, I found we could not do our business, the water being shoal; upon which I ordered three fireships to prepare themselves to attempt the burning them, going myself with all the barges and tenders to take them up, if by the enemy's shot they shold miscarry. Indeed I may say, and, I hope, without vanity, the service was warm; yet, God be praised, so effectually performed, that notwithstanding all their shot, both from their ships and ports, two of our fireships had good success, by burning them; the other by an unfortunate shot, set on fire, being just going on board the enemy: indeed, so brave was the attempt,

" attempt; that, I think, they can hardly be sufficiently rewarded; and
" I doubt not but their majesties will do them right.

" The third French ship being run a-shore, and observing the people
" on board to go a-shore by boats full, I ordered the St Alban's and Re-
" serve, and others, to fire upon her, judging it might cause them to quit
" her; and, after having battered her for some time, I observed she made
" no resistance; I took all the boats armed, and went on board her;
" I found abundance of men on board, and several wounded, but no
" officers; and, having caused all the people, as well those who were
" wounded, as others, to be taken out, I set her on fire: and had I not
" had timely notice by my scouts, that thirty ships were standing for us,
" had sent all the French a-shore, who are now very troublesome to me.
" The ships we saw proved to be Sir John Ashby, and the Dutch, co-
" ming from the westward. We are proceeding together to the east-
" ward, to la Hogue, where I am informed three or four of the ene-
" my's ships are: and if so, I hope God will give us good success. I
" expect to find the admiral to-morrow, where I hope to hear he has de-
" stroyed some of the enemy's ships, having left him in chace of them
" last night, standing to the eastward, and pretty near them, as I jud-
" ged. My lord, I hope you will excuse me, if I presume to pray you
" will use your interest with the Queen, that a reward may be given
" to the three captains of the fireships, and several of the others; for
" greater zeal and greater bravery I never saw. I pray your excuse
" for being thus tedious and particular. Pray God preserve their ma-
" jesties; and that their arms may be ever crowned with success by
" sea and land, shall be the prayers and endeavours of, &c.

" P. S. Captain Heath burnt Tourville's ship, the Royal Sun, which
" was the most difficult; captain Greenway burnt the other, called the
" Conquerant; the Admiral was burnt by our boats. Captain Fowles
" attempted the Royal Sun, but was set on fire by the enemy's shot;
" yet he deserves as well as the other." This letter is inserted in the
London gazette, from whence the above is taken.

It was natural to expect, that every officer who had signalized himself in this gallant action, would have been rewarded and promoted; but the effects of party prevented it; and instead of rewards, a clamour was raised against admiral Russel, the commander in chief; so that king William found himself obliged to lay him aside, and put the command of the fleet into commission; accordingly Henry Killigrew, Esq; Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudesly Shovel, knights, were appointed joint admirals of the fleet, the greatest ever fitted out by the maritime powers. In May the admirals formed their line of battle at St Helens, consisting of seventy ships of the line, thirteen frigates, nineteen fireships, besides brigantines, bomb vessels, and hospital ships. The real cause of the inactivity of this mighty armament, was in reality owing to the fleet's being neither victualled nor manned: besides, the ministry, absolutely deceived in their intelligence, sent useless, and even

contrary

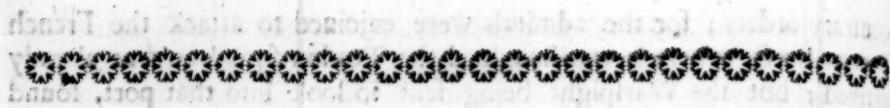
contrary orders ; for the admirals were enjoined to attack the French fleet at Brest, where it was imagined the Toulon squadron was already arrived ; but the Warspight being sent to look into that port, found that there was not one ship there, and before the return of this frigate, the grand fleet had convoyed Sir George Rooke, with the Turkey fleet, twenty leagues further than was at first intended ; but had scarce parted from him, before they had an account, that the Toulon squadron was actually in the Mediterranean. It was next proposed, in a council of war, to follow Sir George to Lisbon ; but this design was laid aside, from its being uncertain, as orders had been already sent to Sir George to return, whether they should be able to meet him ; besides, they had not a sufficient quantity of provisions for such an expedition, even at short allowance.

All this being communicated by the admirals to the ministry, they had orders sent them on August the twenty-fifth, to return to St Helens ; and with their return the operations of the year terminated.

The misfortune attending Sir George Rooke, and the Turkey fleet, raised great clamours ; and a strict enquiry was made into the cause, first by the privy council, and then in parliament. On the seventeenth of November, the house came to the following resolution ; " That in the affair of convoying Sir George Rooke to sea, there had been a notorious and treacherous mismanagement." And yet, upon the question being put for censuring the commanders in chief, it passed in the negative. To reconcile the inconsistency of these two votes, the opinion of the house did not suppose this mismanagement was in the admirals ; for Burnet says, that the orders sent them from the council were weakly drawn, ambiguous and defective, and that the admirals strictly obeyed them.

The affair, however, terminated in laying Mr Killegrew and Sir Ralph Delaval aside, apparently from a party-spirit, as was the case with admiral Russel the preceding year. Sir Cloudesley happening to be in favour with the prevailing party, escaped, though he had concurred with the two admirals in every thing. This is not said with any view of reflecting on the memory of this brave man, but to shew the effects of party-intrigues.

Sir Ralph from this time forward, lived retired for nine years at his estate, and did not intermeddle in any public affairs. He died in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-third was interred in Westminster-abbey ; going to the grave, as prejudice of party had then subsided, with the character of a great and gallant officer, and a generous man.



Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL.

THIS experienced seaman was born in the year 1650, of parents but in middling circumstances, who having expectations from a relation of theirs called *Cloudesley*, bestowed that name upon their son, with a view of recommending him to his notice. But being disappointed in their expectations, young Cloudesley Shovel was put out apprentice to a shoemaker, and to this trade he applied himself for some years; but being of an aspiring genius, and finding no likelihood of raising his fortune this way, he went to sea as a cabin-boy, under Sir Christopher Mynns; when, after assiduously studying navigation, for which he had a natural turn, he soon became an able seamen, and quickly arrived at preferment, especially from the recommendation of Sir John Norborough, who having by mere dint of capacity raised himself to the highest honours of his profession, was the generous patron of those in whom he discovered any extraordinary merit.

After the conclusion of the second Dutch war, our merchants were much harrassed in the Mediterranean, by the Tripolitan corsairs, notwithstanding the several treaties of peace concluded with them. As soon as the king found himself at leisure, he sent a strong squadron into those parts, under Sir John Narborough, who arrived before Tripoli in spring 1674, where, from the appearance of the enemy's strength, and the nature of his instructions, which directed him to try negotiation, rather than force; he was induced to send to the dey of Tripoli, a person in whose capacity he could confide, with moderate terms of accommodation, only to desire satisfaction for what was past, and security for the future. The admiral pitched on Mr Shovel to deliver this message, which he did with uncommon spirit. But the dey, from a contempt of his youth, treated him very disrespectfully, and, at the same time, dismissed with an indefinite answer.

Mr Shovel, on his return, acquainted Sir John with the remarks he made on shore, and was sent back again with another message, instructed with proper rules for farther enquiry and observation. The dey treated Mr Shovel worse the second time; but he bore it patiently, and made use of it as an excuse for staying longer on shore. When he came back, he assured the admiral, that, notwithstanding the lines and forts, it was practicable to burn the ships in the harbour; accordingly, lieutenant Shovel, with all the boats filled with combustibles, boldly entered the port in the night of March the fourth, and performed this service, with a degree of success which is hardly conceivable. Nor was it long before Mr Shovel was rewarded for his behaviour; for the honourable

nourable mention made of it by Sir John in all his letters, Mr Shovel was the next year made commander of the Sapphire, a fifth rate, and soon after removed to the James galley, a fourth rate, where he continued till the death of king Charles II.

Prudential reasons induced king James to employ captain Shovel, who, tho' he was far from being acceptable to him, had the command of the Dover, a fourth rate, given to him ; and in this situation was lie at the revolution.

This event, so agreeable to the captain's own sentiments, added to his activity, being almost in every engagement during that reign, rendered him very popular. For, in the engagement of Bautry-bay, he distinguished himself so much by his courage and conduct in the Edgar, a third rate, that, upon king William's coming down to Portsmouth, he was pleased to confer on him the honour of knighthood. And being employed in June 1691, to convoy king William and his army to Ireland, his majesty was so highly pleased with his indefatigable care and conduct, that he not only appointed him rear-admiral of the Blue, but also delivered him his commission with his own hands.

On the tenth of July king William receiving intelligence, that the enemy intended to send twenty small frigates into St George's channel, in order to burn the transports, he was ordered to cruize off Scilly, or in such station as he should think proper for preventing that design; this he accordingly did, till July the twenty-first, without meeting any thing remarkable, and then was joined by the Dover and Experiment, from the coast of Ireland, with a ketch which came out of Kinsale, on board of which were several officers, who were following king James into France, to accompany him in his intended descent on England.

Sir Cloudesley sailed afterwards to Kinsale, where he soon had an opportunity of demonstrating his zeal for the service. General Kirke being with a small number of men before the strong town of Waterford, could not take it, by reason of a numerous garrison in Duncannon castle, commanded by general Bourk, who gave out, that he would defend both the fort and town to the last extremity, and as long as one stone remained on another. Sir Cloudesley rightly judging, that this bravery, in a great measure, arose from the intelligence he had, that Mr Kirke had not a single cannon, sent the latter word, that he would assist him not only with guns, but boats and men from his squadron; which proposition being accepted by the general, the former surrendered the place, before so much as one stone was beat from another.

The remainder of this year Sir Cloudesley spent mostly in cruising, till he was ordered to join Sir George Rooke's squadron, which convoyed king William from Holland, and did not return to the Downs till January following.

It was Sir Cloudesley's happiness, that, as his courage and sincerity were equally unquestionable, and as his services were well intended, they generally were well received; so that if at any time he missed of suc-

cess, nobody ever pretended to lay any imputations on his conduct. For this reason it gave the people very great satisfaction, when the king in the spring of that year, before his setting out for Holland, declared him rear-admiral of the Red, and also commander of the squadron which was to convoy him thither.

On the admiral's return, he joined the grand fleet under admiral Russel, and had no small share in the glorious victory at La Hogue. For the French, after an engagement of some hours, breaking their line, and Tourville their admiral towing away northward, the English admiral gave the signal for chasing, when it was discovered that all the enemy retired : at the same time several broadsides were heard to the westward, though the ships that fired were not to be seen : this proved to be the brave Sir Cloudesley, who, having weathered the admiral's own squadron, got between them and their admiral of the Blue. But firing on the French for some time, both Tourville, and the admiral of that squadron, came to anchor, but could not see each other, by reason of the thickness of the weather,

In the succeeding year, the fleet was put under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Killegrew and Delaval, the two latter declared Tories, and the former a determined Whig ; who, from a mature consideration of the orders they had received from court, and the bad condition of the fleet at that time, might, though of political principles diametrically opposite, agree in this, that a cautious execution of their instructions, was the safest method they could ; so that there was no great reason for the ludicrous picture, published at this time by the Dutch, in which the taking of the Smyrna fleet was represented at a distance, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel on board his own ship, with his hands tied behind him, each of his colleagues holding one end of the cord ; as if he would have prevented this misfortune, had not Killegrew and Delaval hindered him.

But Sir Cloudeley Shovel, upon an enquiry in parliament, defended both his colleagues and himself, at the bar of the house, by so clear and plain an account of the matter, that all people were satisfied the commanders were innocent in point of treachery, which had been asserted by a vote of the commons.

Sir Cloudeley's character, however, remaining unimpeached, we find him again in 1694 employed in the Channel, and on the coast of France, as vice-admiral of the Red, under the command of lord Berkley, admiral of the Blue, in the expedition to Camaret bay ; and we shall only add, that Sir Cloudeley distinguished himself by his dexterous embarkation of the forces sent on that unfortunate attempt ; as also, when on their return to England, the fleet was again sent upon the French coast, to bombard Dieppe and other places. Towards the close of the season, lord Berkley going to London, the command devolved on Sir Cloudeley ; at which time, by his majesty's express command, he undertook the bombardment

bardment of Dunkirk ; but this attempt proved unsuccessful through the fault of the engineer. And, to shew that no blame could be laid on him, he went with a boat within the enemy's works, where he was an eye-witness of the impossibility of executing his orders : for which reason, on his return home, he was perfectly well received, and continued to be employed. He bore his share in the remaining part of the war : and, after the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, was always consulted by his majesty in all maritime affairs.

In the beginning of the queen's reign, he seems not to have been much in favour ; and therefore, though admiral of the White, was not employed in any thing of importance, till, in 1702, he was sent to Vigo, after Sir George Rooke had taken that place, in order to convoy home the spoils of the Spanish and French fleets. Here he performed every thing with his usual zeal and diligence ; for on his arrival at Vigo, October the sixteenth, he used such dispatch, that he carried off whatever could be brought home, burnt the rest ; and, notwithstanding the stormy season, foulness of his ships, and incumbrance of prizes, he arrived safe in the Downs, November the seventh.

In consequence of which service, the court resolved to employ him in the most momentous affairs for the future. So that, in 1703, the command of the grand fleet up the Straights was conferred on him, where he did every thing in his power ; for, though his instructions were very large, yet he wanted force to accomplish any part of what they contained. Such conjectures as these are the touchstone of an admiral's skill and capacity, of which Sir Cloudesley gave eminent proofs in this expedition ; for he protected our trade from all attempts of the French, did all in his power for the relief of the Protestants in Cevennois ; he countenanced such of the Italian princes and states, as were favourable to the cause of the allies, and struck such a panick into those of them who were friends to the French, that they durst not perform what they had promised to that court. This he did with a fleet indifferently manned, and still worse victualed : insomuch that tho' the management of our maritime affairs was severely censured that year in the house of commons, all parties agreed Sir Cloudesley had done his duty in every respect.

In 1704, Sir George Rooke having the command of the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, Sir Cloudesley was sent, with a powerful squadron, to reinforce him, and, by joining the fleet in the midst of the month of June, was very instrumental in the success that followed ; thereby disappointing all the French schemes, though that nation boasted, they should be able that summer to restore their maritime power, and give law to the allies at sea. He bore a part in the glorious action off Malaga, August the thirteenth 1704, in which he behaved with the utmost bravery, and had the good fortune to escape very well, though, as he himself writ in his letter, "He never in his life took more pains to be well beat." And was far from assuming to himself

self the glory of beating the French, while Sir George Rooke only looked on, or fought at a distance ; the contrary of which is evident from his own letter, as given elsewhere, together with the account of that whole action. After this victory the French never durst face our fleets.

Upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel's return, he was presented to the queen by prince George, as lord high admiral, and was graciously received ; and next year it becoming necessary, to send both a fleet and army into Spain, he accepted of the joint command of the former, with the earl of Peterborough. Accordingly, in June, he arrived at Lisbon with the fleet, which consisted of twenty-nine line of battle ships ; towards the end of that month he sailed from thence to Catalonia, and August the twelfth came before Barcelona, where the siege of that place had been undertaken by the English army, though very little superior to the garrison within the town. Never was a more untoward situation than that in which Sir Cloudesley found himself here ; for besides a difference of opinions which prevailed among the land officers, concerning the impracticability of the scheme, and the prince of Hesse and the earl of Peterborough disagreeing, all things necessary for carrying on the siege were wanting ; so that their whole dependence was upon admiral Shovel : nor was that great man wanting in his zeal for the service of the public. He supplied the batteries both with guns and men, and the army with military stores. In short, it was principally owing to him that the place was taken.

Sir Cloudesley was also commander the next year, but did not arrive at Lisbon before the month of November. He, however, did all that could be expected from him, though his endeavours had not the wished for success. The generals and favourites of king Charles, were so divided in their sentiments, that nothing could be expected from their councils ; nor was it in the power of Sir Cloudesley to bring about a reconciliation between them, though the whole success, and even the placing their master on the throne of Spain, absolutely depended upon it.

At the beginning of the year 1707, Sir Cloudesley had disposed every thing, in the most advantageous manner, for securing Alicant ; and had probably succeeded, had not the troops, by an order from England, again embarked for the expedition against Toulon, of which we have already given an account ; and therefore it will be unnecessary to repeat it here.

This attempt on Toulon, was the last service Sir Cloudesley ever performed ; for having left at Gibraltar three fifth rates, and one sixth, for the security of the coasts of Italy, under the command of Sir Thomas Dilkes, he sailed with ten ships of the line, five frigates, four fire-ships, a sloop and a yacht, for England. On the morning of the twenty-second of October, the fleet came into the soundings, and lay to about noon. At six in the evening the admiral made sail ; but soon after, several of the fleet, and among the rest the admiral's own ship, made signals

signals of distress, and presently struck upon the rocks of Scilly. The Royal Anne, commanded by Sir George Byng, was near sharing the same fate, one of the rocks being close under her main chains; nor were the ships of Sir John Norris and lord Dursley at any great distance. Several young gentlemen of quality were on board the admiral's ship, and perished with him. To what this unhappy accident was owing, is still a secret; that they were all mistaken in their reckoning is evident, but how such a fatal mistake happened was never known. A report indeed prevailed at that time, that the principal part of the crews had got drunk, for joy of their being so near their country; but it is not natural to think, that the officers, especially those who directed the ship's course, could be guilty of such an unguarded action, whatever the common sailors might. The next day the body of Sir Cloudesley was thrown upon the shore of one of the islands of Scilly, where he was found by some fishermen, who, after stripping him, and taking from his finger an emerald ring of great value, buried him in the sand. But Mr Paston, purser of the Arundel, being on shore on the island, and hearing that such a ring had been found, sent for the persons, and after declaring that the ring belonged to Sir Cloudesley Shovel, obliged them to discover where they had buried the body, which he took up, and brought it in his own ship to Portsmouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and deposited with great funeral pomp, in Westminster-abbey; where a costly monument of white marble was afterwards erected, by the queen's particular order, to convey to posterity the memory of a man, who had done such eminent service to his country.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel was an accomplished sea-officer, and always discharged the trust reposed in him with the greatest honour and integrity. He was a true lover of his country, and always exerted himself for the honour of his sovereign. In private life he was an indulgent husband, a tender parent, and a sincere friend; it is therefore no wonder that few men ever lived more beloved, or died more lamented. He married the widow of Sir John Narborough, his great friend and patron; and left as his death two daughters, the eldest of whom married lord Romney, and the youngest Sir Narborough d'Adeth, baronet.

Sir GEORGE ROOKE.

SIR George Rooke, one of the greatest admirals England could ever boast of, was born in the year 1650. He was the son of Sir William Rooke knight, descended from an ancient and honourable family in

in the county of Kent. His father intended him for an honourable profession ; and, from the vivacity of his genius, and solidity of his judgment, flattered himself, that he would make a very shining figure. But all his hopes in this were rendered abortive, by the strong inclination of his son for naval affairs ; and finding it impossible to divert his thoughts, agreed to his making a voyage to sea, where he distinguished himself by his courage, prudence, and indefatigable application, to gain a thorough knowledge of a seaman. He first served as a reformed ; but was soon promoted to a lieutenant, in which post he served several years, not being honoured with a captain's commission till the reign of king James II.

After the revolution, he was soon distinguished by admiral Herbert, who, in the year 1689, sent him as commodore of a squadron to the coast of Ireland ; where he greatly assisted general Kirke in relieving Londonderry, by taking the island of Lake, which opened a passage to the town. Having performed this desirable service, he convoyed the duke of Schomberg's army to Carrickfergus, and assisted in taking that place. After this he insulted the coasts of Ireland, and even formed a design of burning all the ships in Dublin harbour ; but was prevented from executing it by the shifting of the wind.

Being disappointed in this scheme, he sailed to Cork, allowed to be the best fortified port in Ireland ; but, notwithstanding the furious fire from the batteries, he soon made himself master of the great island ; and, in all probability, the town and city itself had shared the same fate, had not his ships been so foul and leaky, that they would hardly swim ; and, at the same time, his provisions so short, that it absolutely was necessary to procure a supply. Accordingly the commodore left the coast of Ireland, and arrived in the Downs about the middle of October.

In the beginning of the year 1690, his friend and patron, the earl of Torrington, procured him the honour of being appointed rear-admiral of the Red ; and he commanded in that station in the unfortunate battle off Beachy-head, which happened the same year in June. Mr Rooke, however, was so far from being suspected of not having done his duty, that he was examined before the lords, and others appointed to enquire into that affair, as a witness on whom they might safely rely ; and accordingly the admiral in chief was acquitted, on his declaring, that the misfortune was principally owing to the admiral's being obliged to fight under great disadvantages.

Nor did this unhappy affair hinder his preferment ; for he was soon after appointed to command the squadron which convoyed his majesty to Holland, after which he joined the grand fleet then commanded by Mr Russel, admiral of the Red : but nothing material happened during the whole summer, the French constantly declining an engagement.

In the beginning of the next year, he again convoyed the king to Holland, and was soon after appointed vice-admiral of the Blue, and in

that station he commanded in the famous battle of la Hogue, which happened on the twenty-second of May 1692. In this celebrated engagement admiral Rooke did every thing that could be expected from so great a man, and the victory was, in a measure, owing to his courage and conduct. But the day succeeding the battle, was that which placed his courage and conduct in the most conspicuous point of light. Eighteen large men of war, part of the French fleet, had crowded as far as possible into the bay of la Hogue, where they disposed themselves in such a manner, that it was judged impracticable to burn them. Besides, there were several batteries erected on the coast, and the whole body of troops, intended to have been employed in the invasion, encamped within sight. All these precautions, however, did not intimidate our vice-admiral ; he prepared for the attack, and stood in with his fleet, but soon found that there was not water sufficient for his ships. Upon this he ordered his light frigates to ply in close to the shore, and, after manning all the boats of his fleet, went himself to give the necessary directions, which were so punctually executed, that he burnt six three-decked ships that very night ; and the next day, being the twenty-fourth, seven more, from seventy to sixty guns, shared the same fate, together with most of the transports and store-ships. In this noble action, though performed under the fire of all their batteries, and in sight of the French army, ten men only were killed ; so wisely had the vice-admiral taken his measures.

It is well known, that king William was always very careful to enquire into the conduct of every officer, before he either punished or rewarded ; a circumstance far from being disadvantageous to Mr Rooke ; for his behaviour at the battle of la Hogue, appeared to his majesty in such an advantageous light, that he settled on him a pension of a thousand pounds *per annum* during his life : and going down to Portsmouth in the spring, conferred on him the honour of knighthood ; having a little before appointed him vice-admiral of the Red. Soon after he commanded the squadron appointed to convoy the Smyrna fleet.

At his return the merchants gave him their thanks and his majesty appointed him one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty ; and, before the close of the year 1694, promoted him from vice-admiral of the Red to admiral of the Blue.

In the month of May 1695, our admiral again commanded the fleet that convoyed his majesty to Holland ; and, about September of the same year, was made admiral of the White, and commander in chief of the fleet in the Mediterranean.

In 1696, he planned the noble scheme for burning the whole French fleet ; but was obliged to abandon his design, being unexpectedly ordered to return to London, where the project was examined in the council so long, till the time of putting it in practice was past.

His majesty having, in the spring of this year, created admiral Russel

earl of Orford, and placed him at the head of the admiralty, Sir George Rooke was appointed commander in chief of the fleet; but from the bad condition of the ships, and their not being above half victualled and manned, nothing material could be done, except taking a large fleet of Swedish merchant ships, which, on examination, proved to be freighted by French merchants, and adjudged to be good prizes. At the close of the year he returned to England, and the war being terminated with the campaign, he ordered the large ships to be laid up, and set out for London, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy. For it must be remembered, that he had not then sided with any party; but being next year elected member of parliament for Portsmouth, he generally voted on that side of the question, supported by the party called *Tories*. This so provoked the whigs, that they did every thing in their power to ruin him; but the king would never listen to any insinuations of his enemies; and when pressed to remove him from the board of admiralty, answered them in a manner becoming a British prince: "Sir George Rooke," said he, "served me faithfully at sea, and I will never displace him, for acting as he thinks most for the service of his country in the house of commons."

In the spring of the year 1701, a shameful confederacy was formed in the north against Charles XII. of Sweden, then very young. This induced king William to send a fleet to his assistance, under the command of Sir George Rooke; who succeeded so effectually in succouring the Swedes, that the king of Denmark was induced to enter into a negotiation with Sweden.

On the accession of queen Anne, Sir George was promoted to be the vice-admiral, and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, and also lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this kingdom: and when war was proclaimed against France, Sir George Rooke was pitched upon to command the fleet sent against Cadiz; the land-forces were commanded by his grace the duke of Ormond.

On his return, he received advice of the galleons being arrived in the harbour of Vigo. On this a council of war was called, in which it was determined to attack the galleons, notwithstanding all the care taken to fortify the harbour. Accordingly the attempt was made, and entirely succeeded.

But notwithstanding of this glorious success, and the thanks of the house of commons, which was returned to him by the speaker, the lords were determined to enquire into his conduct, with regard to the miscarriage of the expedition against Cadiz. Accordingly, Sir George, together with all the land and sea officers, were strictly examined at the bar of that house. Flattery was always abhorred by Sir George, and therefore it could not be expected he could use it on this occasion. Nor did he disappoint the expectations of his friends; for he set the whole

whole affair in the most conspicuous point of light, though in doing it, he arraigned his instructions in a very free manner. He observed, that his instructions were in some measure contradictory; for they empowered him to use hostilities, at the same time when the Spaniards were, by the declarations, promised peace and protection: and consequently, whoever executed these instructions, would lay himself open to a charge, either of using the Spaniards with too much lenity, or not acting vigorously in support of the common cause; adding, that, by endeavouring to keep clear of either of these charges, he had rendered himself obnoxious to both; for he was at first desirous of using gentle methods, as the most likely to be attended with success; but as soon as it appeared, that nothing was to be expected from thence, he proposed bombarding the town, which must have obliged the Spaniards to capitulate. This was, however, opposed by the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, as an action of that kind could not fail of inducing the Spaniards totally to abandon the interest of the house of Austria. Nothing, therefore, could be expected from the expedition; and, consequently, the best method that could be pursued, was to return to England.

This true state of the case being sufficiently explained to the committee, the reasons why the expedition miscarried were evident, and that Sir George had done his duty to the utmost of his power; and accordingly the house passed a vote, which fully justified the admiral's conduct.

Sir George had again the command in the year 1703, and formed an excellent scheme for distressing the enemy; but the Dutch were so long before they joined the English fleet, that it was impracticable to execute it.

In the spring of the year 1704, Sir George carried Charles III. of Spain to Lisbon; and that monarch was highly pleased with the zeal and diligence he had shewn in his service, and in support of the common cause.

It will be entirely unnecessary to enumerate here the proceedings of the fleet, under his command, in the Mediterranean: it will be sufficient to observe here, that the spirit of party was now carried to such a considerable height, that his successes, though of the utmost importance to the nation, were overlooked by that party which had then the ascendant, and who took care to magnify the duke of Marlborough's success in the battle of Blenheim by land, without saying a word of the victory off Malaga by sea. But whatever pains they might take, to lessen the services performed by Sir George Rooke, they could not stop the mouths of the people, who were loud in their applauses, nor prevent several addresses from being presented to her majesty, in which the victory at sea was mentioned in the manner it deserved. As a specimen of these addresses, we shall give the following, presented by Sir Richard Vyvyan, bart. and James Bullen, esq; knights of the shire for the county of Cornwall.

To the queen's most excellent majesty.

" Permit, Madam, the landlords, bounders, adventurers, and whole body of the tanners of Cornwall, with hearts full of all dutiful acknowledgements, to approach your majesty; who want words to express their gratitude, their joy, their admiration, for the wonderful success of your majesty's arms, under the conduct of his grace the duke of Marlborough.

" Never was success greater in all its circumstances, a design more secretly carried on, so effectually supported from home, so vigorously executed abroad, on which no less than the liberty of Europe depended; a cause worthy the best of princes, a victory worthy of the greatest of generals, which will transmit to all future ages your majesty's name truly great; great for deliverance, not for oppression."

" But, it is not enough that your majesty triumphs at land; to complete your glory, your forces at sea have likewise done wonders. A fleet so much inferior, in so ill condition, by being so long out, in such want of ammunition, by taking Gibraltar; without gallies, which were of so great service to the enemy. All these disadvantages considered, nothing certainly could equal the conduct of your admiral, the bravery of your officers, the courage of your seamen, during this engagement, but their conduct, their bravery, and their courage after it, whereby they perfected a victory, which otherwise, in all human probability, must have ended in an overthrow; an action as great in itself, as happy in its consequences.

" May your majesty never want such commanders by sea and land, such an administration in the management of public treasure, which so much contributes to the success of armies and of fleets.

" May your majesty never want (what sure you never can) the hearts, the hands, and the purses of all your people. Had not we (madam) of this country, inherited the loyalty of our ancestors (which your majesty has been pleased so graciously to remember), such obligations must have engaged the utmost respect; and such, all of us will ever pay to your sacred person and government, as with one voice we daily pray, Long live queen Anne, to whom many nations owe their preservation."

Several other addresses of the same kind were presented, which greatly alarmed the ministry, who took all the precautions in their power to suppress them. Sir George perceived the storm which was gathering round him; and being convinced, that the more service he did his country, the more obnoxious he became to the ministry, determined to retire from public business, that the peace of the nation might not be disturbed on his account. Accordingly, he threw up his employments,

and

and spent the remainder of his life in a calm retreat, at a seat of his own in the county of Kent.

But he did not long enjoy the sweets of retirement; for the gout, which had for many years afflicted him, put a period to his life, on the twenty fourth of January, 1709, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

Such was the end of this great man, and such the reward he received for a life spent in the service of Great Britain. He scorned to flatter any, because they filled the post of honour, or betray, for the sake of party, the interest of his country. He was superior both to popular humour and popular applause; nor ever courted the favour of the great, by actions unworthy a true patriot. He possessed for many years posts, in which he might have accumulated a ministerial estate; but these were actions he detested, so that his fortune, when he made his will, just before his death, was so moderate, that every one present was surprised. But Sir George, in a few words, explained the true reason: "I do not leave much," said he; "but what I leave was honestly gotten; it never cost a sailor a tear, or the nation a farthing."

He first married Mrs Mary Howe, daughter of Sir Thomas Howe, of Cold Berwick, in Wiltshire, bart. After her death, he espoused Mrs Mary Lutterel, daughter of colonel Francis Lutterel, of Dunster castle, in Somersetshire, who died in childbed of her first child, in the month of July 1702; and some time after, Sir George married Mrs Catharine Knatchbull, daughter of Sir —— Knatchbull, bart. but left only one child, George Rooke, Esq; who safely inherited his fortune.

His executors, namely, William Broadnax, and Samuel Miller, Esqrs; deposited his remains in the cathedral church of Canterbury; and caused an elegant monument to be erected to his memory.



GEORGE CHURCHILL, Esq;

George Churchill, esq; was the second son of Sir Winston Churchill knight, clerk of the board of green cloth, and of a worthy family in Dorsetshire. His eldest brother was the famous duke of Marlborough, whose actions will be mentioned with honour to the latest posterity. George Churchill was born in the year 1652, and engaged early in the service of his country on board the navy, where his gallant behaviour, together with the interest of his family, advanced him to the command of a ship of war before he was thirty years of age, in which he served several years with great applause; but soon after the

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famous battle of la Hogue, he quitted the service on account of colonel Aylmer, a younger officer than himself, being preferred to the rank of rear-admiral before him.

In the year 1699, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the admiralty; but on the promotion of Thomas earl of Pembroke to the post of lord high admiral, he was again without employment. Soon after the accession of queen Anne, when prince George of Denmark was constituted lord high admiral, Mr Churchill was not only appointed of his council, but also restored to his rank in the navy. This promotion had the same effect on admiral Aylmer, as his before had on Mr Churchill, the former resigning his commission, and continuing several years unemployed. But even supposing Mr Churchill was pleased with thus triumphing over his rival, his situation could not be envied; for, during the six years he sat at the board of admiralty, nothing was heard but complaints of the merchants against the prince's council; and Mr Churchill, whose warm temper, and free method of speaking, were both remarkable, was loaded with a double portion of their resentments. It cannot be supposed, that the merchants could see their ships taken for want of proper convoys, and the indolence of those who should have exerted themselves to prevent them, and not complain. And surely those at the helm of affairs should consider, that as the naval power of Britain is wholly owing to her extensive trade, and the number of ships employed in carrying it on; so any diminution in the former, must soon cause a diminution in the latter; and consequently too much care cannot be taken to defend the merchants property, as it is the sole basis of our maritime strength.

On the death of his royal highness, which happened in the year 1708, the commission which empowered the council to act, ceased of course, and Mr Churchill was again divested of his employments. After which he retired wholly from business, and spent the remainder of his life at a pleasant house he had in Windsor-park, where he died on the eighth of May 1710, leaving his whole fortune to a natural son, having never been married. His corps was deposited with great funeral pomp, in the south aisle of Westminster-abby, where a fine monument is erected to his memory.



Sir JOHN LEAKE.

John Leake, son of captain Richard Leake, master-gunner of England, was born at Rotherhithe in Surrey, in June 1656; and after having received full instructions in the mathematics and art of gunnery,

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by his father, entered early in the navy, and was a midshipman at the conclusion of the last peace with the Dutch : at which time he engaged in the merchants service, determined to wait till an opportunity offered for being preferred in the navy. This happened September the twenty-fourth 1688, when he was made commander of the Firedrake, which, after king James's abdication, was ordered to sail with a fleet to the coast of Ireland, where captain Leake gave such distinguishing proofs of his skill and courage, in the sea-fight off Bautry bay, that two days after, admiral Herbert gave him the command of the Dartmouth frigate ; and in this ship he performed those exploits already mentioned, in our account of the relief of Londonderry.

May the twenty-eight 1690, captain Leake then at Gibraltar, was advanced to the command of the Eagle, a third rate of seventy guns, in which he demonstrated how well he deserved preferment.

After his return to England, he was appointed one of the court-martial, for trying the earl of Torrington ; in which affair he displayed his justice and judgment, as much as he had before done his courage : for, though every artifice as well as menaces, were used by the ministry, to oppress that noble lord, in order to gratify some private resentment, Mr Leake generously undertook his cause, and, after examining every particular of his lordship's conduct, he so fully justified him, that the court agreed to acquit him.

In 1692, his ship made one of admiral Russel's fleet, and was greatly damaged in the engagement off la Hogue, the captain narrowly escaping a cannon ball, which passed between him and his brother-in-law, Mr Martin, as the latter was taking his orders on the quarter-deck.

From the Eagle captain Leake was made commander of the Plymouth, then lying at Portsmouth, a third rate of sixty guns, in which he was ordered to cruise with the grand fleet in the channel : but during his absence, upon his father's decease at Woolwich, his wife and friends, without his privity or consent, procured for him his father's place of master-gunner, and store-keeper at Woolwich, by a recom-mendatory letter of admiral Russel's to Lord Romney master of the ordnance. But, on his return into harbour, he handsomely excused himself from accepting of that place ; not only as it was a very troublesome office, but as it interfered with his service in the navy, where he was now a senior officer.

After the peace of Ryswick, his majesty's ships being now all laid up, and consequently the captains out of employment, Mr Leake had thoughts of making interest for a place at the navy-board ; but admiral Churchill dissuaded him from it ; and as soon as the latter was made a lord of the admiralty, he gave him a commission for the Kent of seventy guns, on board of which rear-admiral Hopson hoisted his flag, on the tenth of September 1699 : and on the eleventh of November in the same year, captain Leake hoisted a broad pendant

at Portsmouth, being appointed commander in chief of all the ships in that harbour.

On the twenty-second of February following, the Kent being put out of commission, captain Leake had no employment till the next year, when he was appointed to command the Berwick of seventy guns; but in this ship he had no opportunity of displaying his eminent abilities. Admiral Churchill, however, recommended him so strongly to the earl of Pembroke, lord high admiral, that when his lordship made choice of the Britannia, a fine first rate, he, at the same time, namely, January the twenty-second 1702, appointed Mr Leake his first captain, in which station he continued till the twenty-seventh of May following, when, by the death of king William, the earl of Pembroke's voyage was laid aside, and prince George, her majesty's consort, appointed lord high admiral.

Captain Leake, the same day he was discharged from his post of honour, accepted of the command of the Association, a second rate; but on June the twenty-fourth, in the same year, the admiralty appointed him commander in chief of a squadron destined for Newfoundland. He had also a commission appointing him governor of that island, and commander in chief of the land-forces during his stay on that coast. Accordingly, the commodore sailed from Plymouth on the twenty-fifth of July, and performed the service in this expedition with great diligence and success, having entirely destroyed the French trade and settlements in those parts. So that, soon after his return to England, which was on the tenth of November, he was rewarded with a flag, being appointed rear-admiral of the Blue. And, on the twenty-third of December, he first hoisted his flag on board the Stirling-castle, then lying at Portsmouth. On the eighth of January 1703, he wrote to the admiralty, desiring that captain Stephen Martin, then commander of the Lowestoffe, his brother-in-law, might be his captain, and go to sea in the Royal William, a first rate, then at Portsmouth. The reason of his making choice of this gentleman for his captain, was not so much on account of his being related to him, as his great qualifications, having been bred under him, and served many years as his lieutenant, during which he had frequent opportunities of observing his behaviour.

While the rear-admiral lay at Portsmouth, he received a commission, dated January the twelfth 1703, appointing him commander of all her majesty's ships at Spithead and Portsmouth for 20 days, and removing his flag to the Resolution, till the Royal William should be got ready for his reception. He received the like commission for twenty days more, dated February the eighth; in which was a clause empowering him to hold courts-martial.

In the next promotion of flag-officers, rear-admiral Leake was advanced to the degree of vice-admiral of the Blue. In this station he was ordered, April the twelfth, to cruise off la Hogue for eight days with

with a squadron, in order to intercept six French men of war, expected from Brest for Dunkirk; but not meeting with them, he on the twenty-fourth returned toward the coast of England, leaving captain Wager with five sail, to cruise between cape Bafleur and the isle of Bais, in consequence of orders to that effect, received at sea from Sir George Rooke.

Sir George sailing on the fifth from Spithead, vice-admiral Leake had orders from the lord high-admiral to follow him, which he accordingly did next day in the Northumberland; and continuing with Sir George, hoisted his flag on board the Prince George, a second rate. This fleet having cruised at far as Belleisle, returned to Spithead June the twenty-first, where Sir George left the ships, both at that place and in Portsmouth harbour, under the command of the vice-admiral, having received orders for that purpose before he set out for London.

In the fleet appointed for the Mediterranean, in the year 1703, under the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, vice-admiral Leake was entrusted with the expediting that part of it which could not be got ready to sail at the time appointed; and with an unwearyed assiduity he put to sea with five of them, on the tenth of July, Sir Cloudesly having sailed from Spithead on the first of the same month. This squadron in eleven days joined the main fleet off Cascais.

The grand fleet having done all in their power while in the Mediterranean, and the advanced season of the year obliging the large vessels to quit their station, it was resolved, in a council of war, to return to England, which they accordingly did about the middle of October. In their passage home they met with violent winds, and very bad weather; when making land on November the fifteenth; and having but just arrived at their several stations and ports, as the great storm arose in the night, between the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh of the same month. The Prince George in the Downs, with the vice-admiral Leake on board, was the only ship that rode fast, though the Restoration's anchor ran foul of her hawser, by which accident the Prince George's best bower was soon brought home, and her small bower brought a-head, it not being possible to cut the Restoration away. Thus the two ships continued for the space of half an hour, expecting every minute to sink, when, at last, the Restoration drove away, and soon after perished with every soul on board. The safety of the Prince George was in a great measure owing to the vice-admiral, and his captain Mr Martin, who the day before expecting a storm, had taken all the necessary precautions for enabling their ship to ride it out, whereby seven hundred lives were preserved.

Next day, as soon as the storm would permit, the vice-admiral was assiduous in pursuing the most prudential steps for assisting the wrecks; by which means several lives were saved: and having dispatched whatever else was necessary for him to do, he repaired to London on the tenth of December.

During this recess, the vice-admiral was very useful by his advice, in remedying the great inconvenience which always attended the navy, by a scarcity of seamen, and in pointing out the means of rendering the marines more serviceable.

In 1704, the vice-admiral having been ordered to convoy the transports to Lisbon, was honoured with knighthood by her majesty, to whom he was introduced in February by prince George the lord high-admiral. On the twenty-first he sailed from St Helens, and on the second of March following he arrived safe at Lisbon; where he was ordered by Sir George Rooke, to continue and provide for the men of war, and the safe conduct of the trade, while he himself sailed with the main fleet to the Mediterranean. This Sir John performed with all possible care and diligence.

Upon Sir George's return to Lisbon, it was resolved in a council of war to proceed with the fleet towards the Streights, which expedition ended with the taking of Gibraltar, in conformity to an original proposal made by Sir John Leake: he also had a considerable share in the engagement with the French fleet off Malaga, in which, as has been shewn above, Sir John Leake forced the enemy's van on the thirteenth of August; but admiral Shovel not seconding this, or not bearing up to oblige their center to draw off, which Sir John had proposed as the shortest way to victory, the fight was lingered out till night put an end to it.

Upon the return of the grand fleet to England, Sir John was left with a squadron on that coast, to secure our new conquest of Gibraltar; but they were not long out in those seas, Sir John having also returned by order to Lisbon, before the enemy, both by sea and land, attempted the reduction of that fortress, which is the key of Spain: but receiving advice of this design by a letter, dated October the first, from the prince of Hesse the governor, he sailed with all expedition, and arrived just time enough to preserve the place; for the enemy, as the governor afterwards wrote to Sir John, were to attack it in several places at once, the very night of the vice-admiral's arrival, when the small garrison could not have held out against such a superior force.

The enemy did not, however, give over all hopes of success, but their efforts proved abortive; for the garrison were sufficiently animated by the presence of the fleet, which had brought them such seasonable relief: nor did the admiral leave the place till it was reinforced with two thousand men.

On the nineteenth of January 1705, Sir John arrived at Lisbon from Gibraltar: and on the twenty-fifth of February received a commission from England, appointing him vice-admiral of the white: in which station, being reinforced with a squadron of five men of war, he returned a second time to the relief of Gibraltar. On his arrival in sight of the place, he discovered five of the enemy's ships coming out, three of which he took, and the other two he destroyed, after a short resistance.

stance. He afterwards looked into Malaga, in search of the remaining part of the French squadron, which had been driven from their anchors out of the bay the day before; so that he did not reach Gibraltar till the thirty-first of March, having, in his passage two days before, passed by the Kent, Orford and Eagle, from England. He no sooner anchored in Gibraltar bay, than the prince of Hesse sent him a letter, expressing his joy at his second appearance before this place, and as a token of his highness's esteem for Sir John's person, and acknowledgment for his services, presented him with a gold cup, till it should be in his power to shew his gratitude, by something more worth his acceptance.

No sooner were the enemy on shore informed of the advantage gained by Sir John, in the late action, and saw his fleet enter the bay, than they gave up all for lost, and gradually drew off their heavy artillery, &c. and on the fifth of April raised the siege, which had continued six months.

Sir John having left every thing safe at Gibraltar, returned to Lisbon, where he received advice from secretary Hedges, that the French were fitting out a large fleet at Toulon, and another at Brest, with an intention to join in the carrying on of some expedition; and ordering Sir John to use his utmost diligence to prevent their junction. But a council of war finding the fleet at Lisbon not in a condition to face the strength represented in the secretary's letter, it was resolved to wait the arrival of the grand fleet, under lord Peterborough and Sir Cloudeley Shovel, of whose departure from England they had received advice.

This fleet arriving on the ninth of June, sailed for the Mediterranean on the twenty-second, and took Barcelona; after which conquest, Sir John was ordered, by a council of war, to remain in those seas with a strong squadron, the gross of the fleet returning home with Sir Cloudeley Shovel.

During this command, he received orders to block up the galleons in the port of Cadiz: for which Sir John made the necessary dispositions; and in all probability must have fallen in with them, as they came out of Cadiz, had he not by an embargo been stopped at the mouth of the Tagus twenty four hours.

On his arrival at Gibraltar, he received advice from king Charles, of the imminent danger of Barcelona, being blocked up both by sea and land: on which, after being joined by a considerable reinforcement, under Sir George Byng, and a convoy with transports from Ireland, he sailed immediately for that port, where he arrived just time enough to save the town; the French fleet having, upon intelligence of the approach of ours, retired the night before. And the army, which had lain before the place from the twenty-second of April, and made no doubt of carrying it before Sir John's arrival, were obliged to quit the siege: a success to be attributed, under providence, to the abilities and good conduct of Sir John Leake.

From Barcelona Sir John sailed with the fleet and transports for Valencia. But when he came off Alcira, being informed of the inclinations of the people in Cartagena, for revolting to king Charles, he, by the advice of a council of war, steered for that harbour, and received their submission without landing his men, or sending more than four of his ships into the harbour.

Sir John's next attempt was upon Alicant, where arriving upon the twenty-sixth of June, he summoned the governor and general to surrender, but he could not act till the arrival of the land forces under lord Peterborough, or till the militia should block up the city by land. On the ninth of July, the land-forces arrived within four leagues of Alicant, and seconded the militia, which had taken quarters for some time in the neighbourhood of the place, but refused to form the siege, without the assistance of three thousand men, and other necessaries from the fleet. Every thing being settled by Sir John, now in commission with the earl of Peterborough, as commanders in chief by sea, the siege was opened in the evening of the twenty-first, and the place was taken by Sir John's sailors, who carried on a regular attack, and mounted a breach thought impracticable, without any assistance from the soldiers.

General Mahoni retired into the castle, which he determined to defend to the last extremity. But, after a terrible bombardment, his cannon dismounted, and no water left in the citadel, he was obliged to capitulate on the twenty-second, and the castle also was given up to Sir John.

From Alicant he proceeded with the fleet to Ivica and Majorca, both which islands submitted to the English flag: after this success, leaving a sufficient squadron to secure his conquests from any surprise, he returned with the foul ships for England, and arrived on the eighteenth of October at Spithead. On his coming to London, he was not only received with the loud acclamations of the people, but caressed in the most public manner, both by the lord high-admiral and the queen; the former presenting him with a diamond ring of four hundred pounds value, and a gold-hilted sword; and her majesty ordering him a gratuity of a thousand pounds.

In the year 1707, Sir John was wholly employed in the channell-service; and on the tenth of October was president of the court-martial, appointed to enquire into the conduct of Sir Charles Hardy, captain of the Kent, who was honourably acquitted.

But in 1708, we find Sir John again in the Mediterranean with the chief command, Sir Cloudesly Shovel being ordered home. Upon the unfortunate death of the latter, Sir John was appointed admiral of the white, and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet, by a commission dated January the eighth 1708; and accordingly, on the twentieth, he hoisted the union-flag on board the Albemarle at Spithead. On the eighth of February he sailed for Lisbon, with the fleet and merchant ships under his convoy; but, by contrary winds, he was obliged to put

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into Torbay, and remain there till the twenty-first, when sailing out of that port, he was driven back to St. Helens, where, meeting with orders to put Portsmouth into a posture of defence, against an invasion threatened by the French, he took every necessary measure in his power for frustrating all attempts against that port, before he had received fresh instructions for proceeding to Lisbon.

He was ready to sail, according to his orders, but was retarded by contrary winds till March the seventh, and arriving in the Tagus on the twenty-seventh of the same month, he met with a gracious reception from the king of Portugal.

During Sir John's stay in this river, in order to put his fleet into a proper condition, he received a letter from king Charles at Barcelona, inclosed in one from father Cienfugos, his envoy to the court of Portugal, both desiring him to make all possible haste with his fleet, to succour his majesty in that city, and also the whole principality of Catalonia, then in very urgent necessity. To this letter Sir John returned for answer, that he should always be ready to shew the affection he had for his catholic majesty's service, and that of the common cause.

On the twenty-seventh of April, Sir John sailed from Lisbon, and on the eleventh of May, about fourteen leagues from Barcelona, he fell in with ninety setees and tartans, laden with provisions, under the convoy of three French men of war, bound for Peniscola, of which he took seventy-five; the rest, all but eight, were taken by the Spaniards; but the men of war escaped in the night, by means of their oars.

By this success on the enemy's corn fleet, Barcelona once more received an unexpected deliverance: for, as Sir John Leake had formerly relieved that city in the critical minute from absolute destruction, so he had now the same good fortune to preserve the inhabitants from the rage of famine that threatened them, of which his majesty, in the above-mentioned letter he sent to Sir John, gives a very lively picture: and what advantages the public affairs in Spain reaped from this lucky accident, both king Charles's court, and our officers in Catalonia were very sensible.

As Barcelona was at that time in great want of provisions, his catholic majesty desired, that what corn had been taken from the enemy might be deposited in his magazines, which were very ill provided; and to this Sir John very readily consented. The day after his arrival, attended by the rest of the admirals, he went on shore to wait on the king, who received him with particular marks of esteem.

Having concerted the further operations of his fleet, Sir John departed for Vado, embarked the troops, and returned to Vatero; but it was the seventeenth before he could reach Barcelona, where their Spanish majesties made him a present of a diamond ring worth three hundred pounds.

The next expedition he undertook, was the conquest of Sardinia; when on August, the first the admiral being abreast of Cagliari, the chief

chief city, and the summons he sent not being answered to his satisfaction, the bombs were ordered to play all night upon it ; at which, and the landing of forces, the next morning the citizens submitted to king Charles.

The queen of Great Britain having commanded Sir John to demand satisfaction of the pope, for certain affronts offered, as promoting and encouraging the late invasion of her dominions, her crown and dignity, Sir John having previously sent his holiness a letter to that purpose, had proceeded with the British fleet to Civita Vecchia ; and when just on the point of putting his measures in execution against the pope, came letters to him from the king of Spain, and Mr Stanhope, to recall him to the conquest of Minorca and Port Mahon, which he immediately complied with ; and being off Mahon August the twenty fifth, the islanders voluntarily submitted, as did that city September the sixth. After this, Sir John took effectual measures, for reducing the castle of St Philip, as rendered the conquest certain. Wherefore leaving seven sail under Sir Edward Whitaker, he on the eighth sailed for England, and arrived at Spithead October the nineteenth.

After this Sir John went no more abroad, so that nothing of any consequence was performed in the Mediterranean during the continuance of the war. He therefore well deserves the epithets of brave and fortunate, which the writers of queen Anne's reign have given him. By this he justly merited the favour of the queen, and the prince her consort, as also the universal esteem of the nation ; for, during his absence in the Mediterranean, he was made one of the lord high-admiral's council ; and her majesty dissolving the parliament, ordered writs to be issued for a new one, returnable July the eighth, Sir John was chosen both for the city of Rochester, and the borough of Harwich, the former of which he chose to represent.

May the twenty-fourth, her majesty was pleased to constitute Sir John rear admiral of Great Britain, as also a lord commissioner of the admiralty.

From this time we find Sir John appointed for the home service, and cruizing on the French coast. On the eighth of November, the earl of Pembroke having resigned the post of lord high admiral, Sir John was appointed the second in the commission for executing that office. On the twelfth, he was superseded as admiral and commander in chief, by Matthew Aylmer, esq; and in April following, upon the resignation of lord Orford, first commissioner, we find Sir John at the head of the admiralty, as chairman, or senior commissioner ; for he persisted in refusing the post of first, as being an officer accountable for every thing done at that board.

In 1710, he was rechosen for Rochester ; and on the twenty-sixth of January 1711, appointed admiral and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet a third time ; and in May following, took the command of

a squadron for the home service, but left it in the beginning of July, and went to sea no more that year.

On his return to the admiralty-board, finding affairs in as bad or worse situation than before, he declined the business there as much as possible; by which means the place of chairman devolved on Sir George Byng. Soon after, applying to the ministers, that a first commissioner might be appointed, or that he might be allowed to resign his place there, and be put upon half pay, that post was offered him, and at the same time to be created a peer; but he absolutely refused both, and desired to remain only in his station as admiral. This being reported to the queen, her majesty sent for him, and desired he would continue to do his duty at that board, as hitherto he had done, till she had appointed a first commissioner, which she promised should be soon.

The French king having agreed to several previous articles, as a foundation for a suspension of arms, and amongst others, the giving up Dunkirk immediately into our possession, a fleet was appointed to assemble in the Downs for that service, and Sir John appointed admiral, and commander in chief a fourth time, by commission, dated April the third 1712. As soon as the previous articles arrived, which was not till June the twenty-fifth, Sir John received orders to proceed to the Downs, to take upon him the command of the fleet; where he punctually obeyed every direction for this service, and saw it accordingly done on the eighth of July. Being returned to the Downs, he struck his flag, and on the thirty-first repaired to London, having committed the care of the fleet to Sir Edward Whitaker.

Though her majesty had appointed the earl of Strafford first lord of the admiralty, yet his lordship continuing at Utrecht, the weight of that board still remained on Sir John. On the seventh of March 1713, he was again appointed admiral, and commander in chief of the fleet, and continued such till the twenty-fifth of August following, though he never went to sea after the ratification of the peace.

A new parliament being summoned, Sir John was chosen a third time for Rochester, in which station he was found at the death of the queen, August the first 1714; he was left out in the first board of admiralty, after the accession of king George I. and on the fifth of November following, superseded as admiral of the fleet, and rear-admiral of Great Britain, by Matthew Aylmer, esq;

Upon issuing the writs for a new parliament, the ministry knowing, that the citizens of Rochester would return Sir John as their member, prevailed with Mr Best, his sister's husband, to dissuade him from accepting their voluntary election, which this artful brother-in-law contrived, and effected accordingly, though not without Sir John's discovering the intrigue.

But as the national provision of half pay as admiral, was given to Mr Aylmer, his majesty, by his warrant, under his sign-manual, dated July the thirtieth 1715, granted Sir John a pension of six hundred pounds

pounds a-year, only upon the ordinary establishment of the navy, which by the persuasion of his friends, though it was a provision far short of his services, Sir John was at last prevailed upon to accept.

From the time of his declining the election at Rochester, Sir John wholly devoted himself to privacy, at his country house of Bedington in Surry, and also at a little box which he built on a spot of ground at Greenwich; but the prospect of the river gave him so much pleasure, that he afterwards enlarged the latter, and spent much of his time there. At both these places he was visited without distinction of party, as being a man universally esteemed.

Such was the retirement Sir John now enjoyed: and though under some disgust in the beginning, at a change so great and so sudden, it soon became familiar and easy to him. He died on the twenty-first of August 1720, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; and the thirtieth following, his body was carried to the parish-church of Stepney, and deposited in a family-vault, under a monument, which he himself had some years before erected for his wife. Having now brought him to his grave in peace, we shall now proceed to describe his person and character.

Sir John Leake was of a middle stature, well set and strong, a little inclining to corpulency, but not to incommod him in the least. His complexion was florid, his countenance open, his eye piercing, and his address both graceful and manly. He had also a good constitution, hardly ever knowing what it was to be sick. His disposition was naturally cheerful, good humoured, and open. He was endued with very good natural parts, and though without learning, few men expressed themselves more properly by writing or speaking. He was hot, but not passionate, and maintained an even temper, unless provoked by some extraordinary cause; yet he was soon pacified, and ready to forgive, no man being more humane. In his dress he was neat and plain. In short, he enjoyed a sound mind in a sound body.

Thus formed by nature, he seems to have been born to be a great admiral. For, besides a genius for the sea, and propensity to a military life, he had all the endowments requisite to that end, which he improved by art and experience. He was certainly one of the best seamen this island has produced, being a perfect master of navigation, both in theory and practice; of which his journals, in his own handwriting, are a proof; these he constantly kept after he was admiral of the fleet. Besides, he understood ship-building, gunnery, fortification, and the discipline of the land-service, wanting only the practice to have made him both a good land-officer and engineer. All these qualifications, joined with his long experience, gave him a superior judgment in his profession. He had also a head to contrive, and a heart to execute, and could endure great fatigue, being neither intimidated by dangers, nor deterred by difficulties. His courage was of the keenest sort, without appearing rash: with this he enjoyed such a happy presence

sence of mind, as enabled him to observe every thing that passed in time of action, and to apply the best directions; which he did, at such times, with a spirit that gave life to his orders. On all occasions he was particularly careful to distinguish his courage, being of opinion, that the bravest man would always conquer.

The same spirit he also shewed in councils of war, where, as he observed, a brave man might as soon be discovered as in battle. And, when it was insinuated by some, that an undertaking proposed was impracticable, Sir John usually replied, Let us make it practicable. And before he proposed any enterprize, he was always well prepared to answer every objection, and even carry it immediately into execution. Thus all his undertakings were attended with that success which justly gained him the epithet of the brave and fortunate.

By such heroic virtues, personal merit, and industry, he attained to the highest preferments in the navy, without ambition, but not without envy from those only whom he rivalled in glory. He neither was proud of his own fortune, nor envied that of others. His mind was wholly set to perform the duty he was engaged in. He had a strict regard to his honour, and hated every thing mean; this made him detest all mercenary views; and the man who had his own private interest at heart, he thought could never faithfully serve his country.

By justice and discipline he maintained good order and oeconomy in the fleet, yet still without rigour, his natural temper inclining him to the merciful side: this made him ready to interest himself in the cause of an utter stranger, and disposed him to a generous regard to the common sailors, being truly sensible of the hardships they suffered, and therefore he mitigated them as much as possible. He loved a brave action where-ever he found it; and to such, without distinction of rank or party, he freely dispensed his favours: and this made him beloved by the seamen.

In respect of his principles, he was in all things for the happiness and prosperity of his country, both in church and state, as by law established. He served king James as far as was consistent with this principle, and upon the same principle he served king William and queen Mary, and queen Anne, with bravery and fidelity. And having been all his life engaged in the cause of the Protestant religion and English liberty; so no man could be more sensible of the benefits to this nation, by the succession in the house of Hanover.

When removed from all his employments, and in retirement, he maintained his character with an equal temper of mind; conscious of a life spent for the public good, he had those pleasing reflections which the world can neither give nor take away.

In private life no man was a kinder husband, a better father, or a more sincere friend: in conversation open and affable; and never happier than in his family, and among his particular acquaintance. His good

good nature and generosity were shewn to all about him, or that had any concerns with him.

The vice of swearing, so generally practised among the sea-commanders in his time, he was very rarely guilty of. He had a just sense of religion, as a member of the church of England, without bigotry or superstition : and not only caused divine worship to be duly observed, but countenanced it by his own example : he frequently communicated, and used private prayers, as there is reason to believe, from such having been found amongst his papers in his own hand-writing. Besides his general beneficence, did many particular acts of charity very privately.

To sum up all, he was a virtuous, humane, generous, gallant man, and one of the greatest admirals of his time : and one thing singular can be said of him, and of no other admiral, that he never betrayed any mistake, nor had his conduct ever been publickly censured.

GEORGE BYNG, Earl of Torrington.

George Byng, afterwards lord viscount Torrington, was descended from an ancient family in the county of Kent. He was born in the year 1663, and at the age of fifteen went a volunteer in the royal navy, having had the king's letter given him, at the recommendation of the duke of York.

In the year 1681, upon the invitation of general Kirk, governor of Tangier, he quitted the sea, and served as a cadet in the grenadiers of that garrison ; till, on a vacancy, which quickly happened, the general, who was always his warm patron, made him an ensign in his own company, and soon after a lieutenant.

In 1684, after the demolition of Tangier, the earl of Dartmouth, general of the sea and land forces, appointed him lieutenant of the Orford : from which time he constantly kept to the sea service ; but did not throw up his commission as a land-officer, for several years after.

In the year 1685, he went lieutenant of his majesty's ship the Phoenix, to the East Indies, where engaging and boarding a Ziganian pirate, who maintained a desperate fight, most of those who entered with him were slain, himself dangerously wounded, and the pirate sinking, he was taken up with scarce any remains of life.

In the year 1688, being first lieutenant to Sir John Ashby, in the fleet commanded by the earl of Dartmouth, and fitted out to oppose the designs of the prince of Orange, he was, in a particular manner,

entrusted

entrusted and employed in the intrigues then carrying on among the considerable officers of the fleet, in favour of that prince, and was the person entrusted by them, to carry their secret assurances of obedience to his highness, to whom he was privately introduced at Sherbourn, by admiral Russel, afterwards earl of Orford. At his return to the fleet, the earl of Dartmouth sent him, with captain Aylmer and captain Hastings, to carry a message of submission to the prince at Windsor, who made him captain of the Constant Warwick, a fourth rate man of war.

In 1690 he commanded the Hope, a third rate, and was second to Sir George Rooke in the battle off Beachy.

In the years 1691 and 1692, he was captain of the Royal Oak, and served under admiral Russel, commander in chief of the fleet. Nor were his merits concealed from that great officer; for he distinguished him in a very particular manner, by promoting him to the rank of his first captain.

In 1702 a war breaking out, he accepted the command of the Nassau, and was at the taking and burning the French fleet at Vigo.

In the year 1703, he was made rear-admiral of the Red, and served in the Mediterranean fleet commanded by Sir Cloudeley Shovel, who detached him with a squadron of five men of war to Algiers, where he renewed the peace with that government. In his return home he was in great danger of being lost in the great storm which overtook him in the channel.

In 1704, he served in the grand fleet sent into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Cloudeley Shovel, in search of the French fleet, and it was he who commanded the squadron that attacked and cannonaded Gibraltar; and, by landing the seamen, whose valour was on this occasion remarkably distinguished, the place capitulated the third day. He was in the battle off Malaga, which followed soon after; and, for his behaviour in that action, queen Anne conferred on him the order of knighthood.

Towards the latter end of this year, the French having two strong squadrons in the Soundings, besides great numbers of privateers, which greatly annoyed our trade, Sir George Byng sailed the latter end of January from Plymouth, with a squadron of twelve men of war, and a large fleet of merchantmen; and after seeing the latter safely out of the channel, he divided his squadron to such advantage, that he took twelve of their largest privateers, in about two months, together with the Thetis, a French man of war of forty guns, and seven merchant ships, most of them richly laden from the West Indies. This remarkable success gave such a blow to the French privateers, that they rarely ventured into the channel during the remainder of the year.

In the year 1705, he was made vice-admiral of the Blue; and upon the election of a new parliament, was returned one of the burgesses for Plymouth; which place he constantly afterwards represented in parliament till he was created a peer.

In the beginning of the year 1707, Sir George was ordered with a squadron to Alicant, with necessaries for the army in Spain, and accordingly sailed on the twentieth of March; but on his arrival off cape St Vincent, he heard the melancholy news of the defeat of our army at the battle of Almanza, under the command of the earl of Galway; who sent to the admiral to acquaint him with the distress he was in; and desired that whatever he had brought for the use of the army might be carried to Tortosa in Catalonia, to which place his lordship designed to retreat; and that, if possible, he would save the sick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia, where it was intended to embark every thing that could be got together. This the admiral performed; and having sent the sick and wounded to Tortosa, and being soon after joined by Sir Cloutesley Shovel, from Lisbon, proceeded together to the coast of Italy, with a fleet of forty-three men of war and fifty transports, to second prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, in the siege of Toulon, in which Sir George served in the second post under Sir Cloutesley, and narrowly escaped shipwreck in his return home, when that great officer was lost; for the Royal Anne, in which Sir George carried his flag, was within a ship's length of the rocks on which Sir Cloutesley struck; yet was providentially saved, by his own and his officers presence of mind, who in a minute's time set the ship's topsails, even when one of the rocks was under her main chains.

In the year 1708, he was made admiral of the Blue, and commanded the squadron fitted to oppose the invasion intended to be made in Scotland by the pretender, and a French army from Dunkirk: this squadron consisted of twenty-four men of war, with which Sir George and lord Dursley sailed from the Downs from the French coast, on the twenty-seventh of February, and having anchored in Gravelin-pits, Sir George went on board a small frigate, and sailed within two miles of the Flemish road, and there learned the strength and number of the enemy's ships. On the admiral's anchoring before Gravelin, the French laid aside their embarkation; but, upon express orders from their court, were obliged to resume it; and, on the sixth of March, actually sailed out of the port of Dunkirk; but, being taken short by contrary winds, came to an anchor the eighth, and then continued their voyage.

Sir George had been obliged at the time the French fleet sailed, to come to an anchor under Dungeness; and, in his return to Dunkirk, was informed that the French fleet was sailed, but whither could not be known; though he was persuaded they were designed for Scotland. Whereupon it was resolved, in a council of war, to pursue the enemy to the road of Edinburgh, and accordingly having first detatched rear-admiral Baker, with a small squadron to convoy the troops to Ostend, the admiral prosecuted his expedition with the rest of the fleet.

On the thirteenth of March the French were discovered in the frith of Edinburgh, where they made signals, but to no purpose, and then steered

Deered a north-east course, as if they had intended to have gone to St Andrews; Sir George pursued them, and took the Salisbury an English prize, then in their service, with several persons of great quality on board, many land and sea officers in the French service, of very great distinction, five companies of the regiment of Bern, and all the ship's company, consisting of three hundred men. After this, Sir George, finding it impossible to come up with the enemy, returned to Leith, where he continued till advice was received of the French being returned to Dunkirk.

Before the admiral left Leith road, the lord provost and magistrates of Edinburgh, to shew the grateful sense of the important service he had done them, by thus drawing off the French before they had time to land their forces, and thereby preserving not only the city of Edinburgh, but even the whole kingdom, from the fatal effects of a rebellion and invasion, resolved to present him with the freedom of their city, by sending in their name Sir Patrick Johnston, their late representative in parliament, with an instrument called a *burgher's ticket*, inclosed in a gold box, having the arms of the city on the side, and these words engraven on the cover: "The lord provost, bailies, and town-council of Edinburgh, did present these letters of burgeoise to Sir George Byng, admiral of the Blue, in gratitude to him for delivering this island from a foreign invasion, and defeating the designs of the French fleet, at the mouth of the frith of Edinburgh, the thirteenth of March 1708."

One would have imagined, that this remarkable success must have satisfied every body; and that, after defeating so extraordinary a scheme, as this was then allowed to be, and restoring public credit, as it were in an instant, there should have been an universal tribute of applause paid to the admiral by all ranks and degrees of people. But so far was this from being the case, that Sir George Byng had scarce set his foot in London, than it was whispered, that the parliament would inquire into his conduct: which notion had its rise from a very foolish persuasion, that, having once had sight of the enemy's fleet, he might, if he pleased, have taken every ship of them, as well as the Salisbury. The truth was, that the French having amused the Jacobites in Scotland with a proposal of besieging Edinburgh castle, Sir George Byng was particularly instructed, by all means, to prevent that undertaking, by hindering the French from landing in the neighbourhood. This he effectually did, and, by doing it, answered the purpose of his expedition. But the same malicious people, who first propagated this story, invented also another, namely, that Sir George was also hindered from taking the French fleet by his ships being foul: which actually produced an enquiry in the house of commons, and an address to the queen, to direct that an account might be laid before them, of the number of ships that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng, and when the ships were cleaped; which, at last, however, ended in this resolution, "That the thanks of the house be given to the prince, for his great care in

" in so expeditiously setting forth so great a number of ships, where
" by the fleet under Sir George Byng was enabled so happily to pre-
" vent the intended invasion." This was a very wise and well con-
certed measure, since it fully satisfied the world of the falsity of these
reports, and, at the same time, gave great satisfaction to the queen
and her royal consort, the prince of Denmark, who both conceived,
that his royal highness's character was affected, as lord high admiral.

About the middle of the summer, a resolution was taken to make a descent on, or, at least, to alarm the coast of France, by way of retaliation for the affront so lately offered us; and Sir George Byng as admiral, and lord Dursley as vice-admiral of the Blue, appointed to carry the scheme into execution. Accordingly Sir George sailed from Spithead on the twenty-seventh of July, with the fleet and transports, having the troops on board, intended for a descent, commanded by lieutenant-general Earle, and the next day came to an anchor off Deal. The twenty-ninth they stood over to the coast of Picardy, as well to alarm as to amuse the enemy, and, at the same time, to be ready for further orders. The first of August the fleet sailed again, and anchored the next day in the bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops; on the third they stood in pretty near the shore, to observe the condition of the enemy. On the fourth they weighed again; but came to an anchor about noon in the bay of Estaples. Here a detachment of troops were landed; but the project on shore, which this descent was to have seconded, being laid aside, an express arrived from England, on which the troops were re-embarked.

In this manner they continued several days on the coast of France, creating the enemy inexpressible trouble; and indeed the true design of it was only to disturb the naval armaments on their coasts, and oblige the French court to march large bodies of men to protect their maritime towns, which necessarily occasioned a diminution of their army in Flanders.

The same year Sir George had the honour of conducting the queen of Portugal to Lisbon, where a commission was sent him, appointing him admiral of the White; and her Portuguse majesty presented him with her picture set with diamonds, to a very great value.

In the 1709, he was commander in chief of the fleet stationed in the Mediterranean, during which he attempted the relief of the city and castle of Alicant; and, at the same time, meditated a design upon Cadiz. Nor was it his fault that both did not succeed; for he did every thing that could be expected from him, in order to render these important designs successful.

After his return from this expedition, he was appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral; in which post he continued till some time before the queen's death, when, not falling in with the measures of those times, he was removed; but, on the accession of his late majesty king George I. he was restored to that employment,

employment; and in the year 1715, on the breaking out of the rebellion, appointed to command a squadron in the Downs; with which he kept such a watchful eye on the French coast, seizing great quantities of arms and ammunition shipped there for the pretender's service, that his majesty, to reward his services, created him a baronet, presented him with a ring of great value, and gave him other marks of his royal favour.

In the year 1717, he was sent with a squadron into the Baltick, on discovering that Charles XII. had formed a design of making a descent upon England.

We are now to enter upon the most remarkable scene of action our admiral was ever concerned in, and which he conducted with equal honour and reputation to himself and the British flag. This was the famous expedition of the British fleet to Sicily in the year 1718, for the protection of the neutrality of Italy, and the defence of the emperor's possessions, against the invasion of the Spaniards, who had the year before surprised Sardinia, and had this year landed an army in Sicily.

He sailed from Spithead about the middle of June, with twenty ships of the line of battle, two fireships, two bomb vessels, an hospital ship, and a store ship.

The English squadron arrived on the first of August in the bay of Naples; into which the fleet, consisting of twenty one sail, standing with a gentle gale drawn up in a line of battle, most of them capital ships, and three of them carrying flags, afforded such a spectacle as had never been seen in those parts before. The whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation. The shore was crowded with multitudes of spectators, and such an infinite number of boats came off, some with provisions and refreshments, others out of curiosity and admiration, that the bay was covered with them. The viceroy, count Daun, being ill with the gout, and having sent his compliments to the admiral, he went on shore, attended by the flag-officers and captains in their boats, and was saluted, at his landing, by all the cannon round the city and castles; and was conducted to the court, through an infinite throng of people, with the greatest acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies usually paid to a viceroy of that kingdom. Here the admiral entered into a conference with count Daun, from whom he learned, that the Spanish army, consisting of thirty thousand men, commanded by the marquis de Lede, had landed the second of July in Sicily, and had soon made themselves masters of the city and castles of Palermo, and of great part of the island; that they had taken the town of Messina, and were then carrying on the siege of the citadel, &c.

After the conference the admiral was splendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged at the palace of the duke de Matalona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception. The next morning they had

had another conference, on the measures to be taken on that conjuncture of affairs; when it was agreed, that the viceroy should send two thousand German foot, in tartans, to Messina, to relieve the citadel, and fort St Salvador, under the protection of the English fleet; which accordingly sailed on the sixth of August from Naples, and arrived the ninth in sight of the Faro of Messina. Here the admiral, desirous of trying every method of negotiation, before he proceeded to the extremity of his orders, dispatched his first captain with orders to Messina, with a letter to the marquis de Lede, wherein, after acquainting him upon what account he was sent there, he proposed a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, that their respective courts might have time to conclude such resolutions as might restore a lasting peace; but added, that, if he was not so happy to succeed in this offer of his service, he should then be obliged to use all his force, to prevent farther attempts to disturb the dominions his master stood engaged to defend. The general returned for answer, that he had no powers to treat, and consequently could not agree to a suspension of arms, but must follow his orders, which directed him to seize upon Sicily for his master the king of Spain. According to the best accounts the admiral could receive, he was led to conceive, that the Spanish fleet was sailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and therefore, upon receiving the marquis's answer, he immediately weighed, with intention to come with his squadron before Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel; but, as he stood about the point of the Faro of Messina, he saw two Spanish scouts in the Faro; and being informed, at the same time, by a felucca, which came from the Calabrian shore, that they saw from the hills the Spanish fleet lying by; the admiral altered his design, and sending away the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he stood through the Faro with his squadron, with all the sail he could, after their scouts, imagining they would lead him to theirs, which accordingly they did; for before noon he had a fair view of their whole fleet lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, which the admiral followed, and soon came up with.

The consequence of this was, that he came up with the Spanish fleet, and entirely ruined them, while captain Watson did the same by the other part of the fleet, which stood in for the Sicilian shore, as we have before mentioned at large.

Sir George, as soon as his whole fleet was joined, dispatched his eldest son to England, who arriving at Hampton Court in fifteen days, brought hither the agreeable confirmation, of what public fame before had reported, namely, the entire defeat of the Spanish fleet; and upon which the king had written a letter to the admiral with his own hand.

In the meantime the admiral prosecuted his affairs with great diligence, procured the emperor's troops free access into the fortresses that were still held out in Sicily, brought their Sicilian gallies from Malta, and soon

soon after received a letter from the emperor, written with his own hand, accompanied with a picture of his imperial majesty, set round with large diamonds, as a mark of the sense he had of the services rendered by his excellency to the house of Austria.

Early in the spring the admiral returned to Naples, where he adjusted every thing, with the viceroy and the German general, for the reduction of Sicily; in which he acted with such zeal and success, that the imperial army was transported into the island, and so well supplied with all necessaries from the fleet, that it may be truly said, the success of that expedition was as much owing to the English admiral as the German general; and that the English fleet did not less service than the imperial army. It was entirely owing to the admiral's advice, and to his assistance, and supplies of cannon, powder, and ball, from his own ships, that the Germans retook the city of Messina, in the summer of the year 1719; after which the admiral landed a body of English grenadiers, who soon made themselves masters of the tower of Faro, by which having opened a free passage for their ships, he came to an anchor in Paradise road. This was a step of great consequence; for the officers of the Spanish men of war, which were in the mole, perceiving this, began to despair of getting out to sea, and unbent their sails, unrigged their ships, and resolved to wait their fate with that of the citadel: this gave the admiral great satisfaction, who now found himself at liberty to employ his ships in other services, which had for a long while been employed in blocking up that port.

But, while things were in this prosperous situation, a dispute arose among the allies about the disposition of Spanish ships, when, after the citadel was taken, they should fall of course into their hands. This dispute was happily ended by the admiral's proposing to erect a battery, and destroy them, as they lay in the basin; which was done accordingly, and thereby the ruin of the naval power of Spain completed.

The admiral, in order to succeed in the reduction of Sicily, and, at the same time, to procure artillery for carrying on the siege of the citadel of Messina, went over to Naples in August; and, finding that the government was unable to furnish the military stores that were wanting, he generously granted the cannon out of the British prizes, and procured, upon his own credit, and at his own risque, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and soon after went thither himself, in order to hasten the embarkation of the troops intended for Sicily; which was made sooner than could have been expected, merely by his incredible labour and diligence, and in spite of the delays effected by count (afterwards bashaw) Bonneval, who was appointed to command them.

Our admiral was received with great honour and respect at Genoa. At his arrival, the town saluted his flag with twenty-one guns, and his person with ten guns and twenty chambers; and the republic sent off six deputies, three of the old and three of the new nobility, to compliment him on his arrival. After a stay of about three weeks, he sailed with all the transports to Sicily, and arrived before Messina, October the eighth; which so elevated the spirits of the army, then besieging the citadel, that, on the first sight of the fleet, they made a vigorous attack upon

half-moon, and carried it. The admiral, repairing ashore to the general's quarters, was embraced by him, and all the general officers, with the most tender marks of affection and gratulation, the whole army being overjoyed to see a man who always brought them relief and success, and every good that attended them.

In ten days after the admiral's arrival at Messina, the citadel surrendered to the Germans; after which, Sir George re-embarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the island; by which means they distressed the enemy to such a degree, that the marquis de Lede, commander of the Spanish forces, proposed to evacuate the island; which the Germans were very desirous of agreeing to, and sent to Vienna for instructions; but the admiral protested against it, and declared that the Spanish troops should never be permitted to quit Sicily and return home, till a general peace was concluded; and sent his eldest son to Vienna with instructions, if the imperial court listened to the proposals of the Spanish generals, to declare that his father could never suffer any part of the Spanish army to depart out of the island, till the king of Spain had acceded to the quadruple alliance, or till he received positive instructions from England for that purpose. In this, Sir George certainly acted as became a British admiral; who after having done so many services for the Imperialists, might surely insist on their doing what was just with respect to us, and holding the Spanish troops in the uneasy situation they now were, till they gave ample satisfaction to the court of London, as well as to that of Vienna.

After this, the Spanish general laid a snare to separate the admiral from the Germans, by proposing an agreement with him for a separate cessation of hostilities, but without effect. But soon after, when the Germans, with the assistance of the admiral, had begun the siege of Palermo, before which the Spaniards lay incamped, and just as the two armies were upon the point of engaging, a courier arrived in that lucky instant from Spain, with full powers for the Spanish general to treat and agree about the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, in consequence of the king of Spain's acceding to the quadruple alliance; upon which the two armies were drawn off, a suspension of arms agreed on, the Germans put into possession of Palermo, and the Spaniards embarked for Barcelona; and the admiral, after he had settled all affairs in Sicily, sailed in August 1720, to Cagliari in Sardinia, where he assisted at the conferences with the ministers and generals of the several powers concerned; wherein was regulated the manner of surrendering the island by the Spanish viceroy to the emperor, and the cession of the same from the emperor to the duke of Savoy; and at the instance of this prince, the admiral did not depart, till he had seen the whole fully executed, the Spanish troops landed in Spain, and the duke of Savoy put into quiet possession of his new kingdom of Sardinia in exchange for Sicily, according to the quadruple alliance: in all which affairs the admiral arbitrated so equally between them, that even the king of Spain expressed his entire satisfaction in his conduct, to the British court; and his behaviour was so acceptable to the duke of Savoy, that his acknowledgments to him were accompanied with his picture set in diamonds.

Thus ended the war of Sicily, wherein the British fleet bore so illustrious a part, that the fate of the island was wholly governed by its operations, both competitors agreeing, that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been subdued without it. Never was any service conducted in all its parts with greater zeal, activity, and judgement; nor was ever the British flag in so high reputation and respect in those distant parts of Europe. The late king, who had named the admiral for that expedition, and knew his abilities, used to say to his ministers, when they applied for instructions to be sent to him for his direction on certain important occasions, that he would send him none, for he knew how to act without any; and, indeed, all the measures that he took abroad were so exact and just, as to square with the councils and plan of policy at home.

Thus have we given an account of this famous expedition; and, by a bare recital of facts, without further enquiries, shewn how well Sir George Byng executed his instructions; for in this consists the merit of an admiral, and for which alone he is answerable, and not at all for the rectitude of these instructions. If this be not granted, we must never expect to be well served at sea; since the admiral, who takes upon him to interpret his instructions, will never want excuses for his conduct, be it what it will; and if this be once granted, Sir George Byng must be allowed to have done his duty as well as any admiral ever did; for to his conduct it was entirely owing, that Sicily was subdued, and his catholic majesty forced to accept the terms prescribed him by the quadruple alliance. He it was, who first enabled the Germans to set foot in that island; by him they were supported in all they did; and by his counsels they were directed, or otherwise they had been expelled the island, even after the taking of Messina. The cause of the emperor being become the cause of his master, he served the interests of that prince with such a zeal and fidelity, as exhibited a pattern to his own subjects. He lived in such harmony with the imperial viceroys and generals, as has been seldom seen among fellow-subjects united in command; the want of which has proved the ruin of many important expeditions. He was incapable of performing duty in a cold negligent manner, and, when any service was committed to his management, he devoted his whole application to it; nor could any fatigue, or indisposition of body, ever divert or interrupt his attention from any point that required present dispatch. To this it might be in a great measure owing, that he was never unfortunate in any undertaking, nor miscarried in any service entrusted to his direction. For whoever will trace public or private events to their source, will find (except where the immediate finger of providence is visible) that what is ascribed to chance is generally the effect of negligence or imprudence. He always proceeded upon solid principles, and left nothing to fortune, that could be accomplished by foresight and application. His firmness and plain dealing to those foreigners who treated with him upon business, was such, that it contributed greatly to the dispatch and success of his transactions with them; for they could depend on what he said; and as they saw he used no arts or chicane himself, and had too discerning

an eye to suffer them to pass unobserved in others, they often found it their best policy to leave their interests in his hands, and to his management, being certain of a most impartial and punctual performance of whatever he engaged in. His reputation was so thoroughly established in this particular, that in the frequent disputes and altercations that arose between the Savoyards and Germans, during the course of the war, and between the latter and the Spaniards at the conclusion of it, he was the common umpire between them, always shunning and opposing any extravagant or unjust demands, and reconciling, as much as possible, the violence of war, with the rules of honour and justice.

After the performing so many signal services, the admiral departed from Italy, to attend his late majesty to Hanover; and the king, among many other gracious expressions of favour and satisfaction, told him, that he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; and that the court of Spain had mentioned, with great acknowledgments, his fair and friendly behaviour in the provision of transports, and other necessaries for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from many vexations and oppressions that had been attempted. No wonder that a man endowed with such talents, and such a disposition, left behind him in Italy, and other foreign parts, the character of a great soldier, an able statesman, and an honest man.

During his majesty's stay at Hanover, he began to reward the eminent services of Sir George Byng, by making him treasurer of the navy and rear-admiral of Great-Britain; and, on his return to England, one of the most honourable privy council.

In the year 1721, he was created a peer of Great-Britain, by the title of viscount Torrington, and baron Byng of Southill in Devonshire; and in 1725, he was made one of the knights of the Bath. At his late majesty's accession to the throne, he was made first commissioner of the admiralty, in which high station he breathed his last, at his house in the Admiralty, of an asthma, in June 1733, in the 70th year of his age, and was buried at Southill in Bedfordshire.

His lordship was but of a tender constitution, though well supplied with spirits, which were not so conspicuous in gaiety of conversation, as in activity in all the duties and functions of life or business, in which he was indefatigable, and by a continual habit of industry, had hardened and inured a body, not naturally strong, to patience and fatigue. He had made no great proficiency in school learning, which the early age of going to sea rarely admits of; but his great diligence, joined with excellent natural parts, and a just sense of honour, made him capable of conducting difficult negotiations and commissions with proper dignity and address. During the time he presided in the admiralty, he laboured in improving the naval power of this kingdom, in procuring encouragement for seamen, who in him lost a true friend, in promoting the scheme for establishing a corporation for the relief of widows and children of commission and warrant officers in the royal navy, and in every other service to his country, that he was capable of. He married, in 1692, Margaret daughter of James Master, of East Landen in Kent, esq; by whom he had eleven sons and four daughters; but only three of the former, and one of the latter, survived him.